THE HISTORY OF PARAGUAY.

CONTAINING

Amongſt many other New, Curious, and Intereſting Particulars of that Country,

A FULL AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS FORMED THERE BY THE JESUITS, FROM AMONG THE SAVAGE NATIVES,

In the very Centre of Barbariſm:

Eſtabliſhments allowed to have realized the Sublime Ideas of FENELON, Sir THOMAS MORE, and PLATO.

Written originally in French, by the celebrated Father CHARLEVOIX.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

BOOK I.

General deſcription of Paraguay. It is firſt diſcovered by the Spaniards, who build on the river of that name the cities of Buenos Ayres and the Aſſumption. The celebrated Don Alvarez Nunes de Vera Cebeca de Vaca arrives at the latter, in quality of governor and lieutenant general of the province. Page 1.

BOOK II.

Zeal of Don Alvarez to re-eſtabliſh Buenos Ayres, which his predeceſſor had abandoned, and to civilize and convert the Indians, many of whom, particularly the Guaycurus, notwithſtanding his great moderation, he is obliged to bring to reaſon by force of arms. Account of the Guaycurus and their country. A conſpiracy againſt Don Alvarez; defeated. Expeditions up the Paraguay and the rivers falling into

into it, by him and his officers. Curious particulars of the countries visited by them, and the neighbouring countries; especially a rich country, greatly resembling that so much talked of, under the name of Del Dorado. *Another conspiracy against Don Alvarez. He is confined; sent to Spain; and, at length, acquitted of the charges brought against him by the conspirators. Don Dominick Martinez de Irala, declared governor by them; undertakes another expedition up the Paraguay. Revolution at the Assumption during his absence.* Page 74.

BOOK III.

Irala returns to the Assumption, and punishes the authors of the revolutions during his absence. Stratagem of Irala to maintain himself in the government. The Assumption erected into a bishoprick. Arrival of the bishop. Irala's death. Arrival of a new governor. He and the bishop set out for Peru. The governor deposed by the viceroy of Peru. Another named in his place, who, on his arrival at the Assumption, quarrels with the bishop, and is by him conducted prisoner to Spain. A new governor sent from Spain. General description of Tucuman and Chaco. Two very remarkable nations in Chaco. Account of the Chiriguanes. Origin of the slavery in which the Spaniards hold the Indians. Page 112.

BOOK IV.

Part of Buenos Ayres reestablished. Description of it and the neighbourhood. State of christianity in Paraguay. Jesuits enter it. Their labours to reclaim the Spaniards and civilize and convert the Indians.

De-

Deſcription of the province of Guayra. The Jeſuits preach the goſpel there with great ſucceſs. Towns built. Jeſuits gain eſtabliſhments in ſeveral places; incur the diſpleaſure of the Spaniards, by endeavouring to protect the Indians againſt them in the enjoyment of their liberty. Page 206.

BOOK V.

Jeſuits invited back to the Aſſumption, eſtabliſhed at Buenos Ayres. Freſh quarrels between the Spaniards and them, touching the liberty of the Indians, notwithſtanding the conditions on which the jeſuits formed ſettlements amongſt both. King of Spain interpoſes his authority in favour of the latter. Guaranis civilized and converted in great numbers by the jeſuits; and formed into towns called reductions, under the care of theſe fathers, but ſubject to the crown of Spain, which accordingly ſupports the meaſures taken by the jeſuits. Deſcription of the reductions. Biſhop of Buenos Ayres viſits them. His letter on the occaſion to the king of Spain. Page 232.

BOOK VI.

New decrees of the Spaniſh court in favour of the Indians, eſpecially thoſe ſubmitting without compulſion, and civilized and converted by the jeſuits. Royal viſitor in the reductions. Some Spaniards ſeem willing to comply with the royal decrees in favour of the Indians, whilſt others attempt to make ſlaves even of thoſe belonging to the reductions. Deſcription of the town called St. Paul of Piritaningue in Brazil. Why the inhabitants called Mamelus. The Mamelus carry into ſlavery ſeveral

ral of the reduction Indians; and are the occasion of many more separating from their pastors to seek shelter in the woods, where some perish through want and fatigue, and others are devoured by wild beasts. Division of the provinces of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata. Description of the country called Tapé. Curious animal. Curious vegetables. Reductions established in Tapè. Singular nation called Caaiguas. Mamelus destroy two Spanish towns. Reductions removed to avoid their fury. Spaniards refuse to assist the new christians. Page 303.

BOOK VII.

The new christians of the reductions in the neighbourhood of the Uruguay, after making head, with various success, against the Mamelus, are removed by their pastors to the neighbourhood of the Parana; are allowed the use of fire arms; entirely defeat, under the command of the governor of Paraguay, a large body of the Mamelus. Lake with floating islands. Renegadoes and outlaws, who had taken shelter in them, defeated by the new christians. The Pope excommunicates the Mamelus and their abettors. Ferment occasioned thereby in Brazil. Duke of Braganca ascends the throne of Portugal. New regulations of the court of Madrid in favour of the Indians of Paraguay, particularly the christian Indians carried off by the Mamelus. Attempt to civilize and convert two Indian nations called Matarane*s and* Abipone*s. Their manners and customs. Progress of the gospel in Paraguay checked by an edict of the court of Madrid, forbidding any but the natural born subjects of Spain to pass over as missionaries into Paraguay. Engagements by water and land between the Mamelus and the new christians, in which the former are entirely defeated. Don Ber-*

Bernardin de Cardenas named biſhop of the Aſſumption; abuſes his ſpiritual power, and encroaches on the civil, to the ſubverſion of all order in church and ſtate; begins to inveigh againſt the jeſuits. Leaves the Aſſumption, but returns again, in order to drive the jeſuits out of it; being diſappointed in the attempt entrenches himſelf in the franciſcan convent; is declared by his clergy an intruder into the dioceſe; and leaves the capital; adjudged, on his own confeſſion, an intruder by the ſee of Rome. Page 373.

THE

4 AP 63

THE HISTORY OF PARAGUAY.

BOOK I.

General description of Paraguay. It is first discovered by the Spaniards, who build on the river of that name the cities of Buenos Ayres and the Assumption. The celebrated Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeça de Vaca arrives at the latter in quality of Governor and Lieutenant-General of the Province.

THE new world had not been long discovered, when people began to dispute, if Europe was likely to reap, from that event, all the advantages that were at first expected. This question was soon followed by another, concerning the right of conquest, in virtue of which, several Powers of Europe had taken upon them to reduce and bring under obedience, nations, that, for so many ages, had either lived without masters, or under the government of sovereigns, the validity of whose titles no one contested. A third question must naturally occur to those, who know any thing of the history of this great hemisphere since it's discovery; and that is, whether, exclusive of religion, the inhabitants have been greater gainers or losers by their acquaintance with us. I must not

pretend to decide on the occaſion: my chief view, in writing this Hiſtory, is to enable thoſe, that may peruſe it, to judge for themſelves, if the Europeans have always treated the Americans in the beſt manner to make uſeful eſtabliſhments among them; benefit of the treaſures they ſet ſo little value upon; increaſe their happineſs, and oblige them to bleſs the day, that had brought them acquainted with the light of the Goſpel.

I AM well aware of the prejudices that ſo generally prevail, in regard to the ſubject I am about to handle. I know that miſtaken notions, concerning the empire and riches of the Jeſuits of Paraguay, have gained even upon thoſe, who expreſs the greateſt eſteem for the ſociety, ſince ſome perſons, merely through concern for it's honour, have endeavoured to divert me from this undertaking. But, conſidering the number and authenticity of the proofs I had to offer in it's vindication, I judged this prevention of it's friends was another reaſon for my not going back; and I hope the world will approve my perſeverance. What pleaſure, in fact, muſt not a reader enjoy, one, I mean, who loves and ſincerely deſires to diſcover truth, in ſeeing it burſt forth through clouds, with which malice had endeavoured to involve it! I am even perſuaded, that numbers will be ſurpriſed at the ſociety's having ſo long neglected to open the eyes of thoſe, who can have no intereſt in being miſtaken, concerning a point, which is far from being ſo indifferent as ſome perſons may be apt to imagine; and I think it my duty to inform the publick, that I at firſt ſet about this Hiſtory, merely to comply with the deſires of a Prince *, who judged it requiſite for the honour of religion, of which he has been, to the hour of his death, one of the greateſt ornaments.

* The late Duke of Orleans, who died the fourth of February, 1752.

BESIDES, this History seemed to contain every thing that can either please or instruct, by the variety and importance of it's materials, and especially the beauty and novelty of the establishments, that form one of it's principal objects. I mean those Christian republicks, of which no models had as yet appeared in the world; republicks, founded in the center of the most savage barbarism, upon a plan more perfect than those imagined by Plato, Bacon, and the illustrious author of Telemachus, and by men, who employed in founding them no other cement, but their sweat and their blood; who, from no other motives but God's glory and the welfare of mankind, and with no other weapons but the Gospel, have braved the fury of the most intractable savages, whom the arms of the Spaniards, had only served to irritate; have thoroughly civilized them, and converted them into Christians, whose virtues for one hundred and fifty years past have been the admiration of all those that have taken the nearest view of them; and who, in fine, become Apostles almost as soon as Christians, make as many spiritual conquests as their pastors; and when their zeal is not attended with success, look upon martyrdom as an ample reward for all their labours; nor is this all, for these spiritual labourers, zealous for the glory of their sovereign and the interest of their countrymen, have brought their new converts to yield to the Crown of Spain, an homage, the sincerity of which may be so much the more depended upon, as it was quite voluntary, as their loyalty besides has more than once weathered with honour the severest trials; and as, by paying the most ready obedience to the orders of their sovereign, and sacrificing to his service their lives and their properties, with unexampled alacrity, they have given the most satisfactory proofs, that in so doing they are persuaded they serve God himself, and from him alone expect their reward.

When all theſe facts have been well proved by the uniform teſtimony of perſons, who had the beſt opportunity of ſifting into the truth of them, and the greateſt intereſt in not ſuffering themſelves to be impoſed upon; the world, no doubt, will be greatly ſurpriſed to find, that eſtabliſhments ſo glorious to religion, and ſo uſeful to the ſtate, have required to protect and preſerve them, all the authority the kings of Spain could exert; that even perſons, who were bound by all manner of ties to favour theſe eſtabliſhments, have omitted nothing to diſguſt thoſe who undertook to form them, and make their labours miſcarry; and that they have been often ruined by men calling themſelves Chriſtians, who, through ſordid and ſelf-intereſted views have butchered or worried to death, by the moſt cruel ſlavery, upwards of one hundred thouſand Neophytes. But it was the work of God, and the fitteſt to diſplay his wiſdom and his power. Thoſe, whom he has been pleaſed to employ as his inſtruments in ſo glorious an enterpriſe, might well expect that Hell would leave no ſtone unturned to make it miſcarry; and experience has but too well proved the juſtneſs of their apprehenſions.

For, not to ſpeak of the immenſe labours and dangers of every kind inevitably attending this new ſpecies of Apoſtleſhip, where they had all the elements to contend with, and unhoſpitable countries to run over, whoſe inhabitants far exceeded in ſavageneſs the wild beaſts with which they abounded, what pen can relate what they had to ſuffer, even from the domeſtics of that faith they were labouring to propagate? Continually oppoſed, loaded with calumny in every part of the known world, driven with violence and infamy from their houſes, accuſed at every tribunal as malefactors and traitors; they have often ſeen the moſt promiſing fruits of all their labours deſtroyed, but theſe diſappointments

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and perſecutions, inſtead of damping their courage, ſerved rather to inſpire them with new ardour, and increaſe their conſtancy to ſuch a degree, that, by means of it, they have at laſt overcome all the obſtacles that were thrown in their way. But before I enter upon the relation of ſo many various and unexpected events, it is proper I ſhould give a general idea of the country, that has been the ſcene of them, and which, though ſo much the ſubject of converſation, very few perſons are acquainted with. I ſhall be more particular in my deſcriptions and obſervations as occaſion offers.

THE word PARAGUAY is the name of a river, which iſſues from the lake of the Xarayes, in about ſixteen degrees thirty minutes of ſouth latitude, and twenty-three degrees of longitude, reckoning, as the Spaniards do, from the Azore iſlands, and after running a good way to the ſouth-weſt, turns to the ſouth. This word ſignifies, in the language of ſome of the neighbouring nations, Crowned River, as if the lake, from which it ſprings, formed a crown about it's head. Don Martin del Barco, Archdeacon of Buenos Ayres, in a Spaniſh hiſtorical poem, entitled Argentina, pretends that the lake of the Xarayes is by no means the ſource of the Paraguay, which he ſays ſome perſons, after croſſing this lake, had aſcended a great deal higher, without finding it's origin. He adds, that ſome affirm it flows from the lake Parime, in the province del Dorado, whoſe exiſtence a modern author* does not deem as fabulous, as it is generally believed to be; and this opinion perhaps may be ſupported by a fact, which another author relates †, though without taking upon him to anſwer for the certainty of it.

* Father Joſeph Gumilla, in his Orenoco illuſtrated: or, Natural, Civil, and Geographical Hiſtory of that River, &c.

† Father Peter Loçano, in his Chorographical Deſcription of Great Chaco.

A SPANIARD, says he, called John Garcia, native of the city of the Assumption, capital of the province of Paraguay, after many years slavery among the Indians, called Payaguas, had the good fortune to recover his liberty, towards the beginning of the present century *; and on his return home related, that in a journey he had made with these Indians, they arrived, after remounting the Paraguay and traversing the lake of the Xarayes, at the mouth of a river, that falls into this lake; and that after ascending this last river for some days, they arrived opposite to a mountain under which it runs; that the Payaguas, before they ventured into this dark channel, light up flambeaux, of a kind of rosin, to prevent their being molested by bats of an enormous size, which they call Andiras, and which fall upon passengers, who neglect to take this precaution against them; that after pushing through the mountain, which cost them two days, they continued their journey for some time longer up the river, 'till they at last arrived at the entrance of another lake, whose opposite banks they could not discover; and then returned the same way they had advanced.

WHATEVER credit this relation may deserve, the Paraguay, after receiving many smaller rivers, though some in themselves pretty considerable, between it's issue from the lake of the Xarayes and the twenty-seventh degree of south latitude, is there joined by another, called Parana, which signifies Sea, on account of it's breadth. This river, after running a great way in a direction nearly parallel to that of the Paraguay, takes a turn, and falls into it by a north-east course. The Paraguay, deeper and narrower after this accession, flows directly southwards to the latitude of thirty-four degrees, where it is reinforced by another great river, called the Uruguay, that flows into it from the north-east; it then runs east north-

* The eighteenth.

north-east to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, where it falls into the sea by the name of Rio de la Plata. This name even is very often given to the Paraguay, from the Parana's junction with it, quite down to it's mouth; nor had the whole course of the Paraguay, any other name, as long as all the country, through which it runs, made but one province. But if merely by the force of custom, for which it is often very difficult to account, the Paraguay has lost, not only it's own name, in consequence of it's waters mixing with those of the Parana, but even that of Silver River, by which it was known above this junction, through a mistake I shall presently take notice of, it has been amply indemnified by another custom, equally unaccountable, of comprehending, under the name of Paraguay, that immense tract of land, which has no bounds but the lake of the Xarayes, the province of Sancta Cruz della Sierra, and that of Charcas, where even the Jesuits of Paraguay have a college and a great mission *, to the north; the streights of Magellan to the south; Brazil to the east; Chili and Peru to the west.

This vast country, besides Chaco, which is as it were the center of it, though not as yet reduced, contains the lake of the Xarayes, the provinces of Santa Cruz and las Charcas, with Tucuman to the west; all the course of the Parana and the Rio de la Plata to the east; and to the south all the rest of the continent as far as the streights of Magellan, where the Jesuits have of late begun to found some missions. It is pretty evident, that in so great an extent of land, watered by an infinite number of rivers, covered with immense forests, intersected by long chains of mountains, most of them very high, and some even reaching to the clouds; where all the low-lands are subject to inundations, for extent

* The college of Tarija, in the province of las Charcas, and the missions of the Chiquites in that of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

and duration ſuperior to thoſe of any other country we are acquainted with; where there are every where great numbers of lakes and marſhes, whoſe putrefied waters cannot but greatly infect the air; where the lands, in fine, that have been cleared and cultivated, are nothing in compariſon to thoſe, that ſtill remain in a ſtate of nature; it is pretty evident, I ſay, that in ſuch a vaſt country, there muſt be a great variety in the temperature of it's air, as well as in the manners and character of it's inhabitants.

TO SPEAK in general of theſe people, we may affirm that they are more or leſs of an olive complexion; that they are commonly rather below than above the middling ſtature, though it is no uncommon thing to find among them perſons of the higheſt; that moſt of them are pretty thick legged and jointed, and round and ſomewhat flat faced; that almoſt all the men, and even the children, eſpecially in the warmer climates, go quite naked; and the women wear no more covering, than the moſt relaxed modeſty ſeems abſolutely to require; that thoſe of every nation have their own particular manner of adorning or rather diſfiguring themſelves, ſometimes to ſuch a degree, as to make the moſt hideous appearance; that there are ſome however, who occaſionally wear caps and other ornaments made of the moſt beautiful feathers; that almoſt all of them are naturally dull, cruel, and inconſtant; treacherous, and exceſſively voracious, and cannibals; given to drunkenneſs, void of foreſight or precaution, even in the moſt indiſpenſible concerns of life, lazy and indolent beyond the power of expreſſion; that except a few, whom the love of plunder or revenge has rendered furious rather than brave, moſt of them are arrant cowards, and that thoſe, who have preſerved their liberty, are entirely indebted for it to the ſituation of the inacceſſible places, where they have taken refuge.

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THE firſt Spaniards who entered Paraguay, made not the leaſt doubt of their finding great treaſures in it. They thought it impoſſible, that a country ſo near Peru ſhould not contain a great many mines of gold and ſilver; and though it was not long before the miſtake, upon which this falſe notion was founded, and of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter, came to be diſcovered, the world, for more than a century, continued to ſpeak of Paraguay, as a country abounding in mines. This we may infer from the title of Argentina, which Don Martin del Barco gave his poem, as if the whole country was but one great mine of ſilver. But I ſhall here inſert what Don Pedro Eſtevan Davila, governor of Rio de la Plata, wrote to his Catholic majeſty concerning it in 1637 *.

"The ſanguine hopes of which people entertain of "being able to make great fortunes in theſe pro-"vinces †, are particularly founded upon the belief "of their containing metals and other precious arti-"cles. Of this I have already ſent your majeſty the "moſt ample informations, with a liſt of ſome authen-"tic papers concerning them; and I know for cer-"tain, that theſe papers have been depoſited among "the archives of the royal council of the Indies. "People had ſome confuſed notions of theſe treaſures, "ſo early as the government of Don Ruiz Diaz Mel-"garejo, who founded the city of Villarica; but after "many endeavours to obtain a more diſtinct account "of them, it appeared that what had already been re-"lated of them, was too uncertain to be depended "upon. The laſt perſon who undertook to diſcover the "mines, was Manuel de Frias, ſon-in-law of Don "Ruiz, and firſt governor of Paraguay, when this "country was divided into two governments. He "ſo

* Father Anthony Ruiz de Montoya, in his Spiritual Conqueſt, &c. fol. 48.

† The province of Guayra was that which they chiefly had their eye to.

"so little doubted of success, that he entered into "an agreement with your majesty on the occasion; "and I have been informed by persons of credit, "that he did every thing that lay in his power to "fulfil his engagements; but that all his researches "proved fruitless. I have already sent your majesty "all the written informations concerning his enqui-"ries, and I know for certain they are to be "found among the archives of the royal coun-"cil of the Indies. I have two reasons for believing "that these papers deserve no credit. In the first "place, the governors I have mentioned omitted "nothing to discover these mines; secondly, all the "witnesses that had affirmed upon oath the credibility "of their existence, were persons prejudiced against "the company of Jesus, and besides, wanted the "necessary qualifications to draw up informations, "fit to be laid before your majesty."

It is true indeed, that people for a long time thought they could discern some indications of gold mines, in the neighbourhood of a town which the Spaniards built under the name of Xeres, pretty near the Paraguay, on the road from thence to Brazil, and the Portuguese afterwards destroyed; but these delusive appearances vanished at last, and the inhabitants of Xeres were always wretchedly poor. This was likewise the case with those of Villarica, whose founders were too hasty in decorating it with so pompous a title; and whose inhabitants, continually annoyed by the Portuguese, found themselves at last under a necessity of removing nearer to the Paraguay, where they built a new town under the same name with that they had deserted, and with as little reason *. It has however thriven the better for it's inhabitants not depending any longer on imaginary mines, which hindered them from taking for their subsistence surer and more consistent measures.

* It is now commonly called la Villa.

PEARLS

PEARLS were found for ſome time in a little lake at a ſmall diſtance from the ſpot, where the city of Santa-Fé originally ſtood; and the author of the Argentina ſpeaks of them with his uſual emphaſis; in ſpite of which, however, they were ſoon forgot. At laſt, a Spaniard, who had been taken in his infancy by the Abipones, obſerving on his return home, that the women were very fond of ſuch things, related that the Indians, among whom he had lived, very often found them in their nets, when fiſhing in the above lake, but threw them back into the water as things of no value; and upon this, proper perſons were diſpatched to examine, on the ſpot, the truth of his report, which they found to be exact. It is very probable however, that either the fiſhery was not abundant, or the pearls not clear enough to quit coſt; for I could never diſcover that they made any part of the commerce of Buenos Ayres, or enriched the inhabitants of Santa-Fé.

I HAVE ſeen a manuſcript, that I think may be depended upon, which affirms, that in the city of the Aſſumption, capital of the province of Paraguay, the ladies adorn themſelves with jewels, which are pretty common in that country. But the author does not inform us, what kind of jewels they are *; and I have not been able to diſcover any more concerning them in any other writer. Father Anthony Sepp, a German jeſuit, who ſpent many years in the miſſions of Paraguay, and has left us ſome letters in his native tongue, that have been ſince tranſlated into Latin, made likewiſe a diſcovery, which, if what he found had been more common, might have been very uſeful in this part of America. Happening one day to take notice of a very hard ſtone, which the Indians call Itacana, becauſe it is full of little black ſpots; he

* Joyas, que no ay poco en el Paraguayo, y las mugeres ſe hazen y adornan, como en otra qualquier Ciudad.

be found, on throwing it into a very fierce fire, that theſe ſpots were very good iron; but theſe ſtones are very ſcarce. Mines of this uſeful metal have been diſcovered in other parts of the country, but ſo poor, that the inhabitants are obliged to procure from other places almoſt all the iron they make uſe of.

In the vaſt plains, which extend from Buenos Ayres to Chili, and a great way to the ſouth, ſome horſes and horned cattle, that the Spaniards left behind them in the fields, on their evacuating that town a little after it's foundation, multiplied to ſuch a degree, that, ſo early as the year 1628, a very good horſe might be purchaſed for two needles, and an ox in proportion. Now indeed, theſe creatures are only to be found in pretty diſtant places. It is however but thirty years ago, that no ſhip left Buenos Ayres without forty or fifty thouſand ox hides, and that number is not to be obtained without killing at leaſt eighty thouſand beaſts, as no ſkins, but ſuch as are ſtatutable, or the ſkins of bulls, and of a certain meaſure, are allowable in trade. There are beſides huntſmen, who, of all the oxen they kill, carry off nothing but the tongues and the tallow, which in this country ſerves for butter, lard, and oil.

But this, after all, is not ſufficient to give a juſt idea of the multiplication of theſe uſeful animals in Paraguay; for the dogs, of which great numbers are likewiſe turned wild, the tygers and the lions, deſtroy more of them than can be well imagined. It is even ſaid, that the lions don't wait as the tygers do 'till hunger pinches them, to hunt down the oxen, but often attack them merely for the ſake of diverſion; and that they have been ſeen to kill ten or twelve at a time, and touch but one. The dogs however are the greateſt enemies of theſe animals. It is now more than twenty years, ſince the price of

tallow

tallow and hides roſe ſeventy per cent. at Buenos Ayres; and if ever this wild breed of horned cattle becomes extinct in the country, it muſt chiefly be attributed to the conſtant war the dogs make upon them, and which they will as certainly continue againſt the inhabitants, when they can find no more beaſts to prey upon. But what is moſt ſurpriſing, there is no opening the eyes of the common people of Buenos Ayres on this occaſion; for a governor of the province having once ſent ſome ſoldiers on an expedition againſt theſe troubleſome animals, the poor men met with no other welcome at their return but ſhouts of deriſion and contempt, joined to the title of dog-killers, for which reaſon not one of them could ever ſince be prevailed upon to go upon the ſame errand.

The manner in which they hunt the horned cattle, and for which they have no other name but that of Matança, or Butchery, is pretty ſingular. A number of huntſmen gather together, and repair on horſeback to ſome great plain, entirely covered with theſe animals. They then ſeparate, and with a kind of hatchet, whoſe edge reſembles a creſcent, lay about them with all their might, aiming at the hind legs of the animals in order to hamſtring them; for this once effected, the animal falls to the ground without being able to riſe again, ſo that the huntſmen may continue their game, 'till of many hundreds they have not left a ſingle beaſt ſtanding; and ſome people pretend, that a good hand will in this manner diſable eight hundred oxen in an hour; but this account appears rather exaggerated. In the conſternation, which at firſt ſeizes theſe animals, they crowd together in ſuch confuſion as to impede each other's flight, and thereby afford the huntſmen an opportunity of taking from time to time a little reſt and refreſhment. At laſt, after ſome days ſpent in this violent exerciſe, they return the ſame way they came,

came, find their oxen where they left them, diſpatch them at their leiſure, and carry off as much of them as they can.

We may well imagine, that the great number of carcaſſes theſe huntſmen leave behind them, would, if permitted to rot, cauſe an infection in the air, which might be attended with very diſagreeable conſequences; but clouds of Vultures *, as large as eagles, and other birds of prey, ſoon fall upon them, ſo that in a few days nothing remains but the bare bones. The horſes are taken with nooſes, and as they are born and bred wild, and of Spaniſh origin, are very handſome and ſwift-footed. The Indians, however, who are alſo very nimble, contrive to turn them towards places where they know they muſt meet with obſtacles to ſtop their flight; and as ſoon as they get within reach of them, caſt nooſes about their legs, leap upon them without any further ceremony, and have ſoon tamed them. There are a great many mules in Paraguay, and they muſt be very uſeful in a country where there are few beaten roads, a great deal of up-and-down hill, and here and there a great many bad ſteps.

But the greateſt riches of both the Spaniards and the Indians of this province, thoſe Indians eſpecially whom the jeſuits have formed into towns or villages, formerly conſiſted, and in regard to many of them ſtill conſiſt, in the Herb of Paraguay. It is ſaid, that the ſale of this vegetable was at firſt ſo conſiderable, and enriched ſo many perſons, that thoſe, who before were reduced to the bare neceſſaries of life, ſoon ſaw themſelves in poſſeſſion of ample fortunes. But as luxury, like fire, is always upon the increaſe, and not to be ſtopt as long as it finds materials to feed upon, the Spaniards, to ſupport it, were obliged to have recourſe to the Indians,

* The people of the country call them Gondors.

Indians, who had voluntarily ſubmitted to them, or had been reduced by the ſuperior force of arms; at firſt they made ſervants of them, but ſoon after began to conſider them as ſlaves. And as they had no mercy for theſe unhappy creatures, many of them periſhed under a ſpecies of drudgery they were not accuſtomed to, and the bad uſage with which their cruel taſk-maſters puniſhed their waſte of ſtrength, rather than their want of will; others made their eſcape, and became moſt irreconcileable enemies to the Spaniards, many of whom by this means ſunk back into their former indigence, without learning thereby to become more laborious. Luxury had multiplied their wants, ſo that the herb of Paraguay alone was no longer ſufficient to content them, as it formerly uſed to do; and though it were, many were too poor to purchaſe any, as the extraordinary conſumption of it had conſiderably enhanced it's value.

THIS herb, ſo famous in South-America and Spain, is but very little known in France. Though called an herb, it is the leaf of a tree of the ſize of a middling apple-tree. In taſte it greatly reſembles that of mallows, and in figure, when full grown, that of the orange-tree. It has likewiſe ſome reſemblance to the Coca of Peru, but is more eſteemed, even in Peru, where it is ſent in great quantities, eſpecially into the mountains, and wherever there is any mining going forward, the Peruvian Spaniards finding it the more neceſſary, as the uſe of wine in their country is attended with very bad conſequences. It is ſent there well dried, and in a manner reduced to powder; but in preparing it, they don't permit it to remain long in the water, as it would then give an infuſion as black as ink. They diſtinguiſh two ſpecies of it, though both are but one and the ſame leaf. The firſt is called Caa, or Caamini; and the ſecond Caacuys, or Yerva de Palos; but

Father

Father del Techo pretends, that it's generical name is Caa, and diſtinguiſhes three different ſpecies of it, under the names of Caacuys, Caamini, and Caaguazu.

ACCORDING to this author, who ſpent great part of his life in Paraguay, the Caacuys is the firſt bud that has ſcarce begun to open it's leaves; the Caamini is the full-grown leaf, ſtript of it's ribs before roaſting; and the Caaguazu, or Palos, that roaſted without any ſuch preparation. The roaſted leaves are kept in holes made under-ground, and lined with cow-ſkins. The Caacuys will not bear tranſportation, nor does it keep as long as the two other kinds, which are ſent in great quantities to Tucuman, Peru, and Spain. It is even certain, that this herb has on the ſpot where it grows, a bitterneſs, that conſiderably increaſes both it's price and it's virtues, and is not to be perceived any where elſe. To prepare the Caacuys, they throw into boiling water the leaf pulverized and afterwards reduced into a paſte. As faſt as this paſte diſſolves, whatever earth might have remained in it, riſes to the top of the water, and is ſkimmed off. The water is then ſtrained through a cloth, and after being left to ſettle a little, is ſucked up through a pipe. They very ſeldom put any ſugar into it, but only a little lemon juice, or certain very ſweet ſcented paſtils. When taken by way of vomit, it is made weaker, and permitted to grow luke-warm.

THE chief manufacture of this herb is at la Villa, or the New Villarica, which lies near the mountains of Maracayu, ſituated to the eaſt of the Paraguay in about twenty-five degrees twenty-five minutes ſouth latitude, this being the diſtrict of the whole country, in which the Caa-tree thrives beſt; but it does not grow on the mountains, but in the marſhy bottoms between them. They ſometimes ſend to Peru alone, no leſs than one hundred thouſand arrobes, each

each of twenty-five pounds of ſixteen ounces *, and the arrobe is worth ſeven crowns of our money †. The Caacuys, however, has no fixed price, and the Caamini ſells for twice as much as the Palos. The Indians eſtabliſhed in the diſtricts of Uruguay and Parana, under the conduct of the jeſuits, have planted ſome ſeeds of this tree, which they brought with them from Maracayu, and the trees produced from theſe ſeeds have very little, if at all, degenerated. But the new Chriſtians make none of the firſt kind, keep the Caamini for their own uſe, and ſell the Palos to pay their tribute, and purchaſe other commodities they ſtand in need of. The Caa ſeeds reſemble thoſe of the ivy.

The Spaniards pretend, that they poſſeſs in this herb a remedy or a preſervative againſt all their diſorders. We cannot, indeed, refuſe it the honour of being very opening and diuretic. It is ſaid, that ſome perſons having at firſt taken it to exceſs, it entirely deprived them of the uſe of their ſenſes for ſeveral days; but what is moſt ſurprizing in this herb, is that it often produces quite contrary effects; as that, for example, of purging and nouriſhing, of giving ſleep to the reſtleſs, and ſpirits to the drowzy. Thoſe, who have once contracted the habit of taking this herb, find it a very difficult matter to leave it off, or even uſe it but moderately, though, when taken to exceſs, it not only brings on drunkenneſs, but moſt of thoſe diſorders, with which the too free uſe of the ſtrongeſt liquors is attended.

Almost every foreſt of this country abounds with bees, which make their hives in the hollows of trees. There are here ten different ſpecies of theſe uſeful inſects. That moſt eſteemed for the whiteneſs of it's wax, and the delicacy of it's honey,

* The arrobe is equal to 28 pounds Avoirdupois.
† The French crown is worth 4 *l.* 6 *d.* ſterling.

is called Opemus, but it is very ſcarce. The Cotton-tree is a native of the country, and grows in thickets, like what I ſaw in Louiſiana. It bears the very firſt year, but muſt be pruned like the vine. It flowers in December and January *, and it's flower, which reſembles the yellow tulip, fades and withers away three days after blowing. The pod contained in the flower is quite ripe in February, and yields a wool, which is not only very white, but very good in every other reſpect. The Indians I ſpoke of, began to ſow hemp-ſeed; but having found it a troubleſome taſk to prepare it for ſpinning, moſt of them abandoned the enterpriſe. The Spaniards have, on this occaſion, ſhewed more conſtancy than the Indians, and make uſe of hemp in pretty large quantities.

Besides maiz, manioc, and potatoes, which thrive very well in ſeveral places, and in which the food of thoſe Indians, who cultivated the earth, chiefly conſiſted, there are in this country many fruits and ſimples, not known in Europe: I ſhall name and deſcribe ſome of them, as occaſion offers. There are ſome fruits in particular, of which the Spaniards make excellent ſweet-meats. Some have planted vines here, which don't thrive equally in every diſtrict; but a great deal of wine is made at Rioja and Corduba, two towns of Tucuman. That of Corduba is greaſy, ſtrong and heady. That of Rioja has none of theſe faults; but at Mendoza, a town in the government of Chili, and ſituated in the Cordilliera, at about twenty-five leagues from Corduba, they make a wine very little inferior to that of Spain. Wheat has been ſown in ſome places; but it is ſeldom made uſe of but for cakes and other things of that kind. There are every-where venomous herbs, with which ſome Indians poiſon their arrows;

* It is proper the reader ſhould attend to the great difference between the ſeaſons in Paraguay and Europe, occaſioned by their lying at different ſides of the Equinoctial Line.

rows; but the antidotes are equally common; and among others the herb called *ſparrow's-herb*, which forms pretty large buſhes, and was diſcovered and obtained it's name, in the following manner.

AMONG the different kinds of ſparrows found in theſe provinces, moſt of which are of the ſize of our black-birds, there is a very pretty one, called *macagua*. This little creature is very fond of the fleſh of vipers, againſt whom, for this reaſon, he wages a continual war. As ſoon therefore as he ſpies one of theſe reptiles, he whips his head under his wing, and gathers himſelf up into a round ball, without the leaſt appearance of life or motion; he does not however cover his eyes ſo entirely, but what he may peep thro' the feathers of his wing, and obſerve the motions of his game, which he ſuffers to approach without ſtirring, 'till he finds it near enough to receive a ſtroke of his bill, which he then ſuddenly diſcharges at it. The viper immediately returns the compliment with another of his tongue; but the minute the ſparrow finds himſelf wounded, he flies to his herb, eats ſome of it, and is inſtantly cured. He then returns to the charge, and has recourſe to his herb, every time the viper ſtings him. This conflict laſts 'till the viper, deſtitute of the ſame reſource *, has loſt all his blood. As ſoon as the reptile is dead, the ſparrow falls to work upon the carcaſs, and concludes the feaſt with a new doſe of his antidote.

THERE are few countries which breed ſo great a number, and ſo many different ſpecies of ſerpents, and ſuch other reptiles; but there are a great many of them no way poiſonous, or whoſe poiſon is no way dangerous. The Indians know theſe innocent tho' frightful reptiles, take them up alive in their hands, and make girdles of them, without any bad conſequence. There are ſome of theſe creatures twenty-

* By this one would imagine this ſparrow-herb acts both as a ſtyptic, and an antidote.

two feet long, and proportionably thick, that ſwallow whole ſtags, if we may believe ſome Spaniards, who aſſure us they have been eye-witneſſes to their feats this way. The Indians ſay, that theſe monſters engender at the mouth, and that the young ones tear their way into the world thro' the ſides of their mothers, after which the ſtrongeſt devour the weakeſt. And were it not for this diſpoſition of Providence, father Anthony Ruiz de Montoya, who ſeems to credit this account, obſerves, that it would be impoſſible to ſtir out of doors without meeting with theſe terrible animals. Among thoſe who are oviparous, there are ſome that lay very large eggs, and make uſe of incubation to hatch them.

THE rattle-ſnake, ſo common in ſeveral provinces of North-America, is no-where perhaps more ſo than in Paraguay. It has been obſerved in this country, that this reptile ſuffers greatly when it's gums are too much diſtended with venom; and that, to get rid of this venom, it falls upon every thing in it's way, with two crooked fangs, pretty large at their root, but terminating in a point, and by means of a hollow in theſe fangs, pours into the wound it makes all the humour that tormented it. The effects of the bite of this, and many other ſpecies of ſerpents and ſnakes, are very ſudden: ſometimes the blood iſſues violently at the eyes, noſe, ears, gums, and roots of the nails; but there are antidotes to be found everywhere againſt this poiſon. The moſt ſucceſsful are a ſtone, to which they have given the name of *St Paul*, bezoard, and a poultice of chewed garlick. The very head of the animal, and it's liver, which is likewiſe eaten to purify the blood, are equally efficacious: the ſureſt method, however, is to begin by making an inciſion directly in the part that has been ſtung, and then apply brimſtone to it. Nay, this drug alone has been often found to make a perfect cure.

THERE

THERE are here likewiſe ſome hunting ſerpents, which climb up the trees to diſcover their prey, and from thence dart upon it when within reach, ſqueeze it ſo tight, that it cannot ſtir, and then devour it alive at their leiſure. But when they have eat up whole carcaſſes, they become ſo heavy as not to be able to move, and, as they ſometimes have not a ſufficient degree of natural heat to digeſt ſuch enormous meals, would inevitably become the victims of their own voracity, did not nature ſuggeſt to them a remedy, which reaſon certainly would never permit them to employ. On this occaſion the monſter turns up his belly to the ſun, whoſe heat makes it putrify; the worms then breed in it, and the birds, coming to their aſſiſtance, feed upon a ſuperfluity, which otherwiſe would moſt certainly kill him: the patient takes care not to let the birds go too great lengths, and in a ſhort time, after this extraordinary operation, finds himſelf as well as ever. But it often happens, they ſay, that the ſkin of the ſerpent cloſes upon the branches of trees upon which he has been in too great haſte to ſtation himſelf; this is a ſcrape, out of which he muſt find it a much more difficult matter to extricate himſelf than the former.

MANY of theſe reptiles live upon fiſh; and father Montoya, from whom I have taken almoſt all theſe particulars, informs us, that he one day happened to ſpy a huge ſnake, whoſe head was as big as a calf's, fiſhing on the banks of a river: the firſt thing the monſter did, was to diſcharge by it's mouth a great quantity of foam into the river; he then thruſt his head into the water, and kept it very quiet, 'till a great many ſmall fiſhes, attracted by the foam, had gathered about it; when ſuddenly opening his jaws, he laid about him, and ſwallowed in great numbers all thoſe that were unhappy enough to lie within his reach. Another time, the ſame author aſſures us, he ſaw an Indian of the talleſt ſtature, who happened to

be fiſhing up to his middle in water, ſwallowed alive by a huge ſnake, which the next day vomited his prey aſhore quite whole, all to the bones which were ſmaſhed to pieces, as if they had been bruiſed between two mill-ſtones.

THIS monſtrous ſpecies of reptiles never quit the water; and in the rapids, which are pretty common in the Parana, they are often ſeen ſwimming with a huge tail, and their head, which is likewiſe very large, above water. The Indians ſay, that they engender in the ſame manner with land-animals, and that the males often attack women, as it is pretended monkeys do in ſome countries. One thing however is certain, and that is, that father Montoya was one day called upon to hear the confeſſion of an Indian woman, whom, while ſhe was waſhing ſome linnen on the banks of a river, one of theſe animals attacked, and, as ſhe ſaid, offered violence to her: the miſſionary found her ſtretched on the very ſpot, where ſhe ſaid the thing had happened; ſhe told him ſhe was ſure ſhe had but a few minutes to live, and in fact expired, almoſt as ſoon as ſhe had finiſhed her confeſſion.

THE rivers and great lakes, which never dry up, are full of caymans or crocodiles, from ten to twelve feet long. There are a prodigious number of them, particularly in the Pilco Mayo, the greateſt river in Chaco, where they are called *yacaras*. When theſe monſters have made a hearty meal of fiſh, they come on ſhore, and lie on their backs, that the heat of the ſun may help them to digeſt it. Tho' their ſcales are very hard and thick ſet, the Spaniards find means to kill them with their fire-arms, but the Indians have a pretty ſingular method of taking them in the water. They make faſt one end of a rope to a tree, and to the other end of the rope tie a ſtick pointed at both ends; then, as ſoon as they ſpy a cayman, they throw the ſtick into his mouth, which is always open; but as the animal has no tongue, or it's tongue is exceedingly

ly ſmall, the ſtick, by diſtending his throat, makes way for a great deal of water, and the more the cayman endeavours to get rid of it, the deeper it enters, ſo that he is ſoon ſuffocated; the Indians then pull him aſhore, by means of the rope to which the ſtick is faſtened.

The cayman has under the paws of his fore-feet bags full of a ſubſtance, whoſe ſcent is ſo very ſtrong, that it immediately aſcends to the brain; but when dried in the ſun, it becomes mild like muſk. The female, they pretend, lays upwards of twenty eggs at a time, but the male breaks a great many of them with his claws; and as ſhe buries them in the ſand, the rivers, when they overflow, ſweep away great part of what remain. It is ſaid, that when the teeth of this animal are grown foul with the fiſh he has devoured, a little ſparrow comes to clean them; but that another very often, as ſoon as he ſees the monſter prepare for this operation by diſtending his jaws, immediately ruſhes into his ſtomach, in order to prey upon his entrails. Allowing the fact to be true, how does this little invader get out again? Herrera pretends, that the caymans of Rio de la Plata don't attack men; I have however heard the contrary from travellers, who related, as eye-witneſſes, ſeveral tragical hiſtories in ſupport of their aſſertions. Perhaps tho' they might have miſtaken ſharks for caymans, for it is certain that this great river ſwarms with ſharks much larger than thoſe of other rivers; and that they lie in wait for the oxen that come to drink it's waters, ſeize them by the muzzle, and ſtifle them.

In ſome parts of this country, there are *cameleons* from five to ſix feet long, that carry their young ones about with them, and always keep their mouths open on that ſide from whence the wind blows. They are a very mild but very ſtupid animal. The *monkeys* here are in ſize almoſt equal to the human ſpecies,

have great beards, and very long tails. They ſcream in a frightful manner when wounded by an arrow, pluck it out, and hurl it back at the aggreſſor. *Foxes* are very common in ſome provinces: there are ſome near Buenos Ayres, which greatly reſemble hares, and whoſe fur is very fine, and beautifully variegated. Nothing can be prettier than this animal, which is beſides of ſo friendly a nature, that he comes out of the woods to fawn upon travellers; but it is proper to be upon one's guard againſt him, for when you think leaſt of it, he diſcharges his urine, the ſtench of which is not to be equalled, and which is beſides of ſo penetrating a quality, that no ſcowring can get it out of any thing it falls upon, ſo that whatever has been once infected by it, is fit for nothing but the fire. There are two ſpecies of *tatares*, or rackoons; one ſpecies are as tall as a pig of ſix months, have in the belly a kind of nacre or ſhell, and another in the region of the kidneys. The two fore-paws ſerve it for hands, and every paw has five fingers. There are likewiſe two ſpecies of *rabbets*, which the Spaniards call *apercos*; they have little or no tail, ſilver-grey hair, and their fleſh is very delicate eating. Another kind of rabbet has ſo ſmall a mouth, that a piſmire can ſcarce enter it.

Lions and tygers are every where common, ſince the horned cattle, Spaniſh horſes, and hogs have multiplied to ſuch a degree. The lions are much ſmaller and leſs fierce by a great deal than thoſe of Africa, but the tigers are no where larger or more furious. The Indians, however, have diſcovered a certain method of driving away theſe animals. As they are very light and nimble, the minute they ſpy one making towards them, if they have no arms to defend themſelves, they hurry up into a tree; the animal, unable to purſue his prey, ſurveys him with greedy eyes from the bottom of his aſylum, and would there remain, it is probable, long enough, to oblige

oblige him to ſurrender at diſcretion, or let himſelf fall to the ground thro' weakneſs, had it not been happily diſcovered, that this animal cannot bear the ſmell of human urine; the Indian takes advantage of this diſcovery, and the tyger immediately flies to a ſufficient diſtance, to give him an opportunity of making his eſcape. Thoſe among the Indians, who make uſe of fire-arms, are ſtill leſs at a loſs on theſe occaſions, for their aim is ſo good, that they have often been ſeen to ſhoot tygers dead while making a ſpring at them.

THEY diſtinguiſh three kinds of *deer* in theſe provinces; ſome are almoſt as tall as an ox, and have very branchy horns; they are moſt commonly to be found in marſhy places. Others are larger than goats, and feed in the plains. The third ſpecies are ſcarce bigger than a kid of ſix months. There is little or no difference between the ſhamoys of Paraguay and ours. The *wild-boars* here have the navel, or perhaps a kind of vent, upon the back. Their fleſh is delicate, and ſo very wholeſome, that the ſick are permitted to make uſe of it. The plains of Chaco are covered with flocks of black, red, and white *goats*; but the white are to be met with no where but on the banks of the Pilco Mayo. Both deer and ſhamoys always feed in flocks, like the ſheep of Europe.

ANOTHER animal, pretty common in this part of America, is a kind of buffalo, called *anta*. It is of the ſize of an aſs, which it likewiſe greatly reſembles in ſhape, all to it's having very ſhort ears. But what ſerves moſt to diſtinguiſh this animal, is a kind of trunk, which he extends and contracts at pleaſure, and by which, it is thought, he likewiſe breathes. Each of his feet has three nails, to which they aſcribe a ſovereign virtue againſt all manner of poiſons, eſpecially to thoſe of the left fore-foot, upon which he lies down as often as he finds himſelf indiſ-

indiſpoſed *. He makes uſe of his two fore-feet in the ſame manner with monkeys and beavers, and with equal facility. In his belly are found bezoard-ſtones, which are held in great eſteem. In the day-time he brouzes upon the graſs, and by night eats a kind of clay which he finds in the marſhes, where he retires at ſun-ſet. The fleſh of this animal is very wholeſome, and differs from beef in nothing but being more light and delicate. His ſkin is ſo ſtout, that when well dried, they pretend it is muſket ſhot proof; for which reaſon the Spaniards, when they can get any, make ſkull-caps and cuiraſſes of it. They hunt the anta in the night-time, and it is an exerciſe attended with very little trouble. The huntſmen repair to the places where theſe animals generally aſſemble together at night-fall, and on their approach iſſue out to meet them with lighted torches, which ſo dazzle and ſtagger the poor creatures, that they tumble one over another to the ground. The huntſmen then fire upon them, and ſeldom miſs a ſhot; ſo that at the return of day, they are ſure to find great numbers of them dead or grievouſly wounded.

ALL kinds of volatiles ſwarm in almoſt every part of this country, and of geeſe alone they reckon in it ſix different ſpecies. The *ravens* here are white; the *ſparrows* of a gold colour; and the *patridges* as large as hens, and in ſuch plenty, eſpecially in the vaſt plains that lie between Buenos Ayres and Tucuman, that travellers take them, like fiſh, with a line, without being obliged to alight from their horſes or carriages. *Oſtriches* and *ſea-wolves* are likewiſe very common in ſome places. Among the fiſh found in the

* Memoires de Trevoux, October, 1751, page 2194. It is not ſaid that this animal is ſubject to the epilepſy, or that he cures himſelf when attacked by it, by rubbing his ear with his left hoof, as it is ſaid the original or elk of Canada does, whom the anta greatly reſembles in other reſpects.

the rivers and lakes, there is one which differs in nothing from a hog, but that it has no teeth; and a *water-dog* or *canis aquaticus*, which barks like the land dogs of Europe. A miſſionary one day ſpyed one of theſe animals, on the banks of a river, where having been wounded with an arrow, he fell a barking with all his might, 'till ſeveral others immediately came to his aſſiſtance, and tranſported him to the oppoſite ſhore.

1516. SUCH is in general this great country, eſteemed by numbers of people one of the richeſt in the New World. It was firſt diſcovered in 1516, by John de Solis, great pilot of Caſtile, and that by mere accident. Solis had ſailed from Spain to continue the diſcovery of Brazil, begun in the year 1500, by Vincent Yannes Pinſon, who had accompanied Columbus in his firſt voyage, and two months before the Portugueſe had the leaſt knowledge of it. The firſt of January, 1516, he entered a port formed by the diſcharge of a river, which he called *Rio Genero* *, and took poſſeſſion of it for the Crown of Caſtile, as Pinſon had done ſixteen years before, at Cape St Auguſtin, which he called the Cape of Conſolation. Solis then continued to range the coaſt, and on turning it to the right, found himſelf in a bay at the mouth of a great river, to which he gave his name; but he did not think proper to venture his veſſel a great way up it, as he found it to be full of rocks, ſhoals, and ſand-banks; being loth however to return home without ſome knowledge of the river, he ſet out in his long-boat, and after ranging for ſome time the weſtern coaſt, diſcovered ſome Indians, who ſeemed to invite him aſhore, by laying at their feet every thing they had, and, as it were, to offer them to him.

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* That is to ſay, January River. The Portugueſe call it *Rio Janeyro*, which ſignifies the ſame thing in their language.

1516. Deceived by theſe ambiguous demonſtrations, he landed without any precaution, and with very few men, tho' reſolved, it is ſaid, to carry off ſome of the natives, and bring them to Spain with him. He did not even conſider, that, in proportion as he advanced, theſe barbarians retired towards a wood, where they at laſt buried themſelves, and he followed them alone in a manner. But he had ſcarce entered it, when a volley of arrows, diſcharged by people he could not ſee, killed him and all his attendants. The Indians then made a great fire without the wood, and ſtripping the dead carcaſſes, roaſted and eat them in ſight of thoſe who had remained in the boat, or had taken refuge in it, and who had now no other courſe to take but to return to Spain. Such was the miſerable end of a man who paſſed for one of the ableſt navigators of his time; but who, according to Herrera, was not endowed with all the prudence requiſite to inſure the ſucceſs of an enterpriſe like that he was charged with.

1516-25. The fate of ſome Portugueze, who a few years after penetrated into Paraguay by way of Brazil, was equally lamentable. On the reports, that now began to fill Europe, of the immenſe riches found by the Spaniards in Peru, Don Martin de Soſa, Governor and Captain-General of Brazil, reſolved, if poſſible, to ſhare their good fortune with them, and diſpatched Alexis de Garcia, a man on whoſe courage, good ſenſe, and fidelity, he could rely, on a journey over land to that diſtant country, in order to procure the intelligence requiſite for putting his deſign in execution. Garcia took no company with him but his ſon, and three other Portugueze, with whom however he reached the Paraguay. Here he met a great number of Indians, and engaged, it is ſaid, a thouſand of them to follow him; he then croſſed the river, and penetrated to the frontiers of Peru, where he pickt up ſome gold, and a great deal

deal of ſilver. On his return therefore to that part of the Paraguay, where the Indians had joined him, he formed a deſign of making a ſettlement there, for the uſe of ſuch of his countrymen as might be willing to take advantage of his diſcoveries; and with this view he ſent off two of his fellow-adventurers with diſpatches to the Governor of Brazil, ſome ingots of gold and ſilver, an account of his journey, and the plan he had formed, remaining himſelf among the Indians, with his ſon who was very young, and another Portugueze; but his meſſengers were ſcarce ſet out, when the Indians maſſacred him and his companion, made his ſon a ſlave, and took poſſeſſion of all his treaſure. Nor had about 60 Portugueze, and a very large party of Brazilians, who on the receipt of Garcia's letters ſet out to join him, under the command of George Sedenno, any better ſucceſs. The Indians on the road not only refuſed to aſſiſt them with proviſions, but did all that lay in their power to cut off their retreat, and accordingly fell upon them one day ſo unexpectedly from behind the woods, that after loſing their commander, and ſeveral men, they were oblig'd to fly precipitately towards the Parana, where to their great joy they met with ſome Indians who offered to ferry them over to the other ſide, beyond the reach of their purſuers. But the pirogues were ſcarce half way over, when their treacherous conductors, who could ſwim like fiſhes, leaped over board, after opening ſome holes, which they had ſtopt ſo artfully that the Portugueze had not before perceived them; ſo that of theſe unhappy adventurers, not one man eſcaped to relate the misfortune of the reſt.

1525. One would imagine, that neither the Spaniards nor the Portugueze could have any temptation to ſettle in a country, of which they had no knowledge, but what was acquired by ſuch tragical events; and it is certain, that they firſt thought

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of nothing leſs than making any uſe of Solis's diſcovery, when they received ſome news which filled them with hopes, tho' built on very ſlender foundations, of drawing greater riches out of Paraguay than any other part of America. Sebaſtian Gabot, or Gabato, a Venetian, who in 1496 diſcovered Newfoundland, and part of the adjacent continent, for Henry VII, finding himſelf neglected by the Engliſh, at that time too much taken up with domeſtic affairs, to think of any eſtabliſhments in the New World, paſſed over into Spain, where the reputation he had acquired of being a very able navigator *, procured him the poſt of great Pilot of Caſtile. The famous ſhip, called *the Victory*, the only veſſel of Magellan's ſquadron which returned to Spain, and the firſt which ſailed round the world, had lately brought home ſpices and other precious commodities from the Molucca Iſlands, and this ſucceſs induced ſome merchants of Seville to engage Gabot to attempt the ſame voyage with a fleet, which they reſolved to fit out at their own expence. As Gabot however did not chuſe to act merely as a ſervant to a trading company, he thought proper to provide himſelf with a commiſſion from the Emperor, and having repaired to Madrid for that purpoſe, he there entered into a treaty with Charles V, and it was ſigned the 4th of March 1525.

1525. The ſubſtance of it was †, that Gabot ſhould have the command of a ſquadron of four ſhips, in quality of Captain-General, and that Martin Mendez, who had been treaſurer to Magellan's ſquadron, and came home on board the Victory, ſhould ſerve under him as Lieutenant; that he ſhould ſail thro' the newly diſcovered Streights, then croſs the South-Sea to the Molucca Iſlands, and from thence proceed on the diſcovery of *Tharſis*, *Ophir*, and *Cipango*, which were then thought to be the iſlands of

* Herrera, third Decad, Book ix. Chap. 3.
† Herrera, ibid.

of Japan; that he ſhould there load his ſhips with gold, ſilver, and the other moſt precious commodities the country afforded. It was himſelf that propoſed this expedition to the Emperor; but whatever aſſurance he expreſſed of being able to make good ſuch mighty promiſes, the merchants of Seville already began to repent the choice they had made of him, eſpecially as they ſoon diſcerned the ſeeds of a miſunderſtanding between him and Mendez, on whom they chiefly depended for the ſucceſs of the voyage. They even ordered their agent at Court to beſeech the Emperor to name another commander, in caſe his Majeſty thought the ſquadron might ſtay long enough to receive one.

THIS application proved ineffectual, and Gabot put to ſea the firſt of April 1526, after re-inforcing his ſquadron with a fifth veſſel, which a private adventurer had freighted at his own expence. Herrera ſays, that during this voyage he did not behave either as an able captain, or a ſkilful mariner; that for want of œconomy he ſoon fell ſhort of proviſions; that he kept no meaſures with thoſe who had not the good fortune to be agreeable to him; that on his arrival, without any proviſions, at the Iſland of Geeſe *, a little way from Cape St Auguſtin in Brazil, the inhabitants received him kindly, and revictualled his ſhips, and that he repaid their good offices with the blackeſt ingratitude, by carrying off, in ſpite of their parents, ſome children of the firſt families on the iſland. In ſhort, that on his arrival at the entrance of the bay, into which the river then called *Rio de Solis* diſcharges itſelf, he reſolved not to proceed any further, as well becauſe he had not proviſions enough to carry him through the Streights of Magellan, as becauſe the crews of his ſhips began to mutiny; and that after turning adrift on a deſert iſland Martin Mendez, Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, who

* Iſle de Patos.

who blamed his conduct in very free terms, he reſolved to take an exact ſurvey of the bay in which he then found himſelf.

I ſay the bay, becauſe ſeveral people think, that the mouth of the river ought not to be brought ſo low as *Cape St Mary*, where the land begins to take a turn from South-Weſt to Weſt, and at *Cape St Anthony*, diſtant from the former forty-five common leagues of Spain, or the whole breadth of the bay's entrance; but that we ought to abide by the opinion of thoſe, who place it at *la Puerta de la Piedra*, oppoſite to *Monte Video*, more than fifty leagues from Cape St Anthony. I ſhall not, however, quarrel with the Spaniſh Geographers, who inſiſt that Rio de la Plata is almoſt fifty leagues broad at it's mouth. It cannot be denied that this river is one of the largeſt in the known world; but there are very few which it is harder for ſhips to enter, or where they are expoſed to greater dangers, or more frequently loſt; for which reaſon the ſailors call it the *Hell of Mariners*. But to make amends for theſe dangers, it abounds in fiſh, eſpecially the gold-fiſh, which is caught in great plenty on the ſand-banks, with which it's bottom is covered, and which form the principal danger. As ſoon as the water begins to grow ſweet, it appears excellent; at firſt, indeed, if not uſed with great moderation, it is apt to bring on cholicks, laxes, and ſometimes even bloody-fluxes; but in leſs than a month people accuſtom themſelves to it, ſo as to have no more to fear from it. Beſides being very wholeſome, it has the very ſingular property of clearing the voice to ſuch a degree, that one may immediately diſtinguiſh thoſe who have conſtantly made uſe of it; but this advantage is loſt little by little, by thoſe who leave it off. Some memoirs attribute the ſame quality to the Uruguay and moſt of the rivers that fall into it. If this be true, it is probable that the Rio de la Plata derives this virtue from the Uruguay; but,

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to be ſure of it, we ſhould know whether the firſt of theſe rivers poſſeſſes this virtue above the place where both unite; a point, about which my memoirs are quite ſilent.

Be that as it will, Gabot eaſily overcame all theſe difficulties, and arrived in ſafety at ſome iſlands, the higheſt of them a little above Buenos Ayres, which he called the *iſlands of ſaint Gabriel.* The firſt he fell in with is about a league round, and afforded him good anchoring ground. Here he left his ſhips; and, taking to his boats, entered the channel between the iſlands and the continent to the right, and then the Uruguay, which he miſtook for the Paraguay, as the Paraguay, beſides its not being as broad as the Uruguay at their junction, was hid from him by the iſlands of St. Gabriel to his left. Meeting with a little river on the right, he called it *Rio de ſan Salvador*, built a ſmall fort on the banks of it, and then detached ſome ſoldiers, under the command of John Alvarez Ramon, up the river, which he ſtill took for the true Rio de Solis.

Ramon, after three days navigation, having the misfortune to run aground on a ſand bank, was killed by the Indians, with ſome of his people; the reſt eſcaped by ſwimming, and made the beſt of their way back to Gabot, whom ſo melancholy an accident determined to return to the iſlands of St. Gabriel.

Having by this time diſcovered his miſtake, he ſailed about thirty leagues up the Paraguay, and built a fort at the mouth of a river iſſuing from the mountains of Tucuman, whoſe Indian name *Zacaranna* has been changed by the Spaniards into that of *Rio Tercero.* This fort he called the *fort of the Holy Ghoſt*; but it is better known in the accounts of his voyages, by that of *Gabot's Fort.* After leaving a garriſon in this fort, he proceeded up the river to the confluence of the Paraguay and the Parana, then,

finding himſelf between two large rivers, he entered that which appeared the broadeſt; which, as I have already obſerved, is the Parana; but, on finding it turn to the eaſt, he returned to the confluence for fear of advancing too far into Brazil, and ſailed up the Paraguay, where ſome Indians ſoon attacked him, killed five and twenty of his men, and took three priſoners; but he ſoon made them ſmart for it, by killing a much greater number of theirs. Theſe Indians were probably the ſame with thoſe who had killed Alexis Garcia; for we are told that Gabot recovered, by this blow, a great part of the effects taken from the Portugueze. As he knew nothing of Garcia's defeat, he looked upon all the gold and ſilver he took on this occaſion, as the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood; and no longer doubted of it, when ſome Indians, whom the terror of his arms, or the courteouſneſs of his behaviour, had engaged to enter into an alliance with him, not only ſupplied him with plenty of proviſions, but likewiſe gave him bars of ſilver in exchange for Spaniſh goods of very little value. He, therefore, made no ſcruple of beſtowing the pompous name of *Rio de la Plata* on the Paraguay; a name, which has proved a ſource of miſtakes to thoſe who did not know the true origin of it.

Just as Gabot was preparing to return to his ſhips with the treaſure he had amaſſed, there arrived in his camp a Portugueze captain, called *Diego Garcias*, who had been ſent by the captain-general of Brazil, to reconnoitre the country, and take poſſeſſion of it in the name of the crown of Portugal.

As Garcias, on the one hand, was not ſtrong enough to execute his commiſſion in ſpite of the Spaniards, whom he did not expect to meet in ſuch numbers on the banks of the Paraguay; ſo Gabot, on the other, reflecting that he himſelf was too weak to prevent the Portugueſe making themſelves maſters

maſters of the country, in caſe they returned with ſuperior forces, as they eaſily might, thought the beſt thing he could do, would be to engage Garcias by preſents, to follow him to the fort of the Holy Ghoſt, from whence, after ſome days ſtay, Garcias ſet out for Brazil.

GABOT now finding his preſence neceſſary in Paraguay, inſtead of returning to Spain, as he at firſt propoſed, ſent off Fernand Calderon, whom he had appointed treaſurer to his fleet in the room of Mendez, with all the ſilver he had collected, and a letter for the Emperor, giving an account of every thing he had ſeen and done; pointing out the propereſt meaſures for ſecuring the country to the crown of Caſtile; and beſeeching his Majeſty to ſend him ſufficient ſuccours for that purpoſe.

CALDERON and another captain, called George Barloque, whom Gabot had joined in commiſſion with him, reached Spain by the beginning of the year 1537, and met with a very favourable reception from the Emperor. The ſight of the ſilver they brought with them, being, it is ſaid, the firſt brought from America to Spain, dazzled him to ſuch a degree, that he not only approved of every thing Gabot had done, and granted him all his requeſts, but ordered a grand armament to be made for that country, at his own expence. Two years, however, having elapſed without Gabot's hearing any thing of theſe his good diſpoſitions, he thought it his duty to return to Spain, leſt any longer delay might give the Portugueze a deſire, and afford them an opportunity to return to Paraguay. Having, therefore, named Nuno de Lara to the government of the fort of the Holy Ghoſt, during his abſence, and left him one hundred and twenty men, and all the proviſions he could amaſs, he ſet out to join his ſquadron, and immediately put to ſea.

LARA, on his ſide, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded by nations, from whom he could expect no reſpect but in proportion as he could command it, thought the beſt thing he could do, would be to gain over thoſe neareſt to him, which were the *Timbuez*; and he ſucceeded pretty well in the attempt. But his ſucceſs ſoon proved fatal to him, in a manner he little dreamed of. Mangora, Cacique of the Timbuez, happening, in one of the frequent viſits he paid Lara, to ſee Lucy Miranda, a Spaniſh lady, and wife of Sebaſtian Hurtado, one of the principal officers of the fort, became deeply enamoured with her. It was not long before ſhe perceived it; and, knowing what ſhe had to fear from a Barbarian, with whom it was ſo much the commander's intereſt to live upon good terms, ſhe did all that lay in her power not to be ſeen any more by him, and to guard againſt any violence or ſurprize. Mangora, on his ſide, thinking that if he could but get her to his habitation, he might diſpoſe of her as he pleaſed, often invited Hurtado to come and ſee him, and bring his wife along with him. But Hurtado as often begged to be excuſed, alledging that he could not abſent himſelf from the fort, without the commander's leave; and that he was ſure he ſhould never be able to obtain it.

SUCH an anſwer as this was enough to let the Cacique ſee, that, to ſucceed in his deſigns upon the wife, he muſt firſt get rid of the huſband. While he was, therefore, conſidering ways and means to do it, he got intelligence, that the huſband had been detached with another officer, called Ruiz Moſchera, and fifty ſoldiers, to collect proviſions. Looking upon this, therefore, as a favourable opportunity, ſince it not only removed the huſband, but weakened the garriſon, by which the wife might expect to be protected, he poſted four thouſand picked men in a marſh in the neighbourhood of the fort, and

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ſet out for it, with thirty others loaded with refreſhments. On his arrival at the gates of it, he ſent word to Lara, that, hearing how much he was in want of proviſions, he was come with enough to ſerve him, till the return of the convoy. Lara received the treacherous Cacique with the greateſt demonſtrations of gratitude, and inſiſted upon entertaining him and his followers. This was what Mangora had expected; and, he had, accordingly, given his men inſtructions how to behave, and appointed ſignals for thoſe he had poſted in the marſh.

THE entertainment began with a great deal of cheerfulneſs on both ſides, and laſted till the night was far advanced; when, the Spaniards riſing to break up, Mangora gave ſome of his attendants the ſignal for doing what he had before-hand directed; which was to ſet fire to the magazines of the fort, as ſoon as the Spaniards ſhould be retired. This was accordingly done, without the Spaniards having the leaſt ſuſpicion of the matter. The officers were ſcarce compoſed to reſt, when moſt of them being alarmed by the ſoldiers crying out *fire! fire!* and jumping out of bed to extinguiſh it, the Indians ſeized the opportunity of diſpatching them. The reſt were killed in their ſleep; and the four thouſand men poſted in the marſh, having been at the ſame time let into the fort, it was immediately filled with ſlaughter and confuſion. The governor, though wounded, having eſpied the treacherous Cacique, made up to him, and ran him through the body; but, being more intent upon ſatisfying his revenge, than conſulting his ſafety, he continued ſo long venting his now uſeleſs fury on the dead body of his enemy, that the Indians had time to intercept his flight; and immediately diſpatched him. 1527-30.

THERE now remained no living ſoul in the fort, but the unfortunate Miranda, the innocent cauſe of

ſo bloody a tragedy, four other women, and as many little children, who were all tied and brought before Siripa, brother and ſucceſſor to the late Cacique. This Barbarian, at the ſight of Miranda, conceived the ſame paſſion for her, that had proved ſo fatal to his brother, and ordered her to be unbound, relinquiſhing to his attendants all the other priſoners. He then told her, that ſhe muſt not conſider herſelf as a ſlave in his houſe; and that it would even be her own fault, if ſhe did not become the miſtreſs of it; and that he hoped ſhe had ſenſe enough to prefer to an indigent forlorn huſband, the head of a powerful nation, who would take pleaſure in ſubmitting to her, himſelf and all his ſubjects. Miranda might well expect, that, by refuſing his offers, ſhe ſhould expoſe herſelf, at beſt, to a perpetual and moſt cruel ſlavery; but her virtue got the better of every other conſideration. She even gave Siripa the anſwer ſhe thought was moſt likely to exaſperate him, in hopes his love might change into fury; and a ſpeedy death put her innocence and honour beyond the reach of his brutal inclinations.

But in this ſhe was greatly miſtaken. Her refuſals ſerved only to increaſe the eſteem, Siripa had conceived for her, and heighten his paſſion, which he ſtill flattered himſelf he ſhould be at laſt able to ſatisfy. He continued, therefore, to treat her with a great deal of lenity, and even ſhewed her more civility and reſpect, than could be well expected from a Barbarian. But his moderation and gentleneſs ſerved only to make her more ſenſible of the danger ſhe was expoſed to. In the mean time, Hurtado, being returned with his convoy, was greatly ſurprized to behold nothing but a heap of aſhes, where he had left Gabot's tower. The firſt thing he did was to enquire what was become of his wife; and, being informed ſhe was with the Cacique of the Timbuez, he immediately ſet out to look for her, without conſidering

ſidering what dangers he thereby fruitleſsly expoſed himſelf to. Siripa, at the ſight of a man, who was the ſole object of all Miranda's affections, could no longer contain himſelf, but ordered him to be tied to a tree, and there ſhot to death with arrows.

His attendants were preparing to obey him, when Miranda, drowned in tears, threw herſelf at the tyrant's feet, to obtain the life of her huſband; and, ſuch is the power of a paſſionate affection, it calmed the violent ſtorm, which it had but a little before excited in the heart of a Barbarian. Hurtado was unbound; he was even, ſometimes, permitted to ſee his wife. But the Cacique, at the ſame time he thus indulged them, gave them to underſtand, that they muſt not, on pain of death, attempt to go any further lengths. It is, therefore, probable, he only meant this indulgence as a ſnare to obtain a pretext for recalling the conditional reprieve he had granted Hurtado, who ſoon ſupplied him with one. A few days after, Siripa's wife came to inform him, that Miranda was lain down with her huſband; the Barbarian immediately ran to examine the truth of the report with his own eyes; and, in the firſt emotion of his paſſion, more to the ſatisfaction of his wife's jealouſy, than his own, he condemned Miranda to the flames, and Hurtado to the kind of death he had but lately eſcaped. The ſentence was immediately executed, and this faithful pair expired in ſight of each other, full of ſentiments worthy of their virtues.

1530-35. In the mean time Moſchera had made ſome reparations at Gabot's fort. But, finding at laſt, that it was to no purpoſe to continue there, as the animoſity between the Spaniards and Indians was now become irreconcileable, on account of the treachery of the latter, he embarked with the poor remnant of his garriſon, on board a little veſſel, which Gabot had left behind him; and, after falling down the river to the ſea, ranged the coaſt to the 32d

degree of South latitude, where, having diſcovered a convenient port, he built a little fort on its banks, and, finding the inhabitants diſpoſed to live in friendſhip with him, ſowed a ſmall tract of land, But he had not been there long, when the governor of Brazil ſent to inform him, that, if he expected to remain in quiet poſſeſſion of his eſtabliſhments, he muſt conſent to take an oath of allegiance to the king of Portugal, to whom all the country belonged. To this ſummons Moſchera anſwered, that he was reſolved to maintain his ground, till their reſpective maſters had agreed upon a partition of the Indies. He was, however, very little able to keep his word, for want of arms and proviſions. But a French ſhip having ſoon after caſt anchor at the little iſland of Canaanee, oppoſite his fort, he ſurprized her, and by that means ſupplied himſelf with both. He then erected a little battery, with four pieces of cannon he found on board his prize; and, the Portugueſe being come ſoon after to attack him, to the amount of 80 men, ſupported by an army of Brazilians, he, after letting them land, and even paſs unmoleſted through a wood, gave them ſo warm a ſalute in front, while a detachment, placed in the ſame wood, attacked them in the rear, that they immediately diſperſed; and all thoſe, who, after being ſpared by the cannon, had not ſaved themſelves by flight, were put to the ſword. Moſchera, not ſatisfied with this advantage, embarked with part of his men, and a great number of Indians, on board the veſſels that had brought the Portugueſe, and fell upon the town of St. Vincent, where he plundered the king's magazines. He ſoon perceived, however, that theſe ſucceſſes, inſtead of ſerving to ſtrengthen his eſtabliſhment, tended only to the ruin of it, by making it an object ſo much the more worthy of the attention of the crown of Portugal. He, therefore, very judiciouſly removed his colony to the iſland of St. Catha-

Catharine, where he flattered himſelf the Portugueſe would not be in ſuch haſte to purſue him. Yet he made no long ſtay here.

The court of Spain had not, in the mean time, loſt ſight of Paraguay, though the news of all the Spaniards, that were ſettled in the country, having been either killed by the Indians, or obliged to deſert it, joined to the abſence of the Emperor, threw a damp upon all the reſolutions taken to make good his claims to ſo deſireable an acquiſition.

But the Emperor, being at laſt returned to Madrid, began to think ſeriouſly of forming a powerful ſettlement on Rio de la Plata; and the preparations made for it greatly ſurpaſſed thoſe already made to eſtabliſh colonies in any other part of America.

Don Pedro de Mendoza, great cup-bearer to the Emperor, was appointed commander in chief of the expedition, adelantade and governor, and captain general of all the countries that might be diſcovered as far as the South-ſea, on condition that he ſhould tranſport there, in two voyages, one thouſand men, and one hundred horſes, with arms, ammunition and proviſions for one year, the whole at his own expence. He was, indeed, permitted to make eſtabliſhments in any part, he thought proper, of the lands he might diſcover; and gratified with a penſion, for life, of two thouſand ducats, with leave, beſides, to levy the ſame ſum on the produce of the countries, of which he was appointed governor. The other conditions were, that of three fortreſſes, which he was to build at his own expence, he ſhould be hereditary Alcalde; and Alguazil major of that where he might think proper to fix his reſidence; that, after reſiding in his government for three years, he might return to Spain, and name a governor to ſucceed him, who, on receiving his commiſſion, ſhould be entitled to the ſame prerogatives he himſelf had enjoyed; that though, according

cording to the laws of the kingdom, the Kings, or Indian Caciques taken in war, were to pay their ranſoms into the exchequer: theſe ranſoms ſhould be diſtributed among the governor and the troops, after a deduction of one tenth to the uſe of his Majeſty. That, in caſe any treaſures belonging to Caciques killed in war ſhould fall into the hands of the Spaniards, they ſhould be equally divided between his Majeſty and the governor. In fine, that the governor ſhould take eight religious with him, to preach the goſpel to the natives of the country, and provide all the poſts with phyſicians, ſurgeons, and medicines. The Emperor then charged Mendoza's conſcience with all the vexations and violences, which the Indians might, through his fault, ſuffer from the Spaniards; and declared, that their converſion being what he had moſt at heart, he would ſhew no mercy, to thoſe, who dared to contradict his intentions in that reſpect.

1535. ORDERS had been already given to equip at Cadiz, a fleet of fourteen ſhips, and Don Juan Oſorio, an Italian, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in the wars of Italy, took upon him the command of it, in quality of lieutenant to Mendoza. Such great preparations, and the reports that had been ſpread of the richneſs of the countries watered by the Rio de la Plata, attracted ſo many perſons, even of the higheſt nobility, that the firſt armament, inſtead of five hundred only, the number originally propoſed, conſiſted of twelve hundred men, amongſt whom were thirty noblemen, all the eldeſt ſons of their families, and ſeveral Flemiſh officers. In a word, no Spaniſh colony eſtabliſhed in the new world can boaſt ſo many great names among its founders; and the poſterity of many of them ſtill ſubſiſts in Paraguay, eſpecially in the capital of the province of that name. This fleet put to ſea in the month of Auguſt, 1535, being in the ſeaſon fitteſt for that purpoſe,

poſe, as ſhips, which happen not to arrive at the Bay of Rio de la Plata, before the end of March, run a great riſk of coming too late for the North and North-eaſt winds, and being overtaken by thoſe from the oppoſite quarters, which oblige them to winter in Brazil.

Mendoza's fleet, after paſſing the line, was ſurprized and diſperſed by a terrible ſtorm. The ſhips, however, commanded by his brother, Don Diego de Mendoza, and a few others, happily reached the iſlands of St. Gabriel. But that ſhip carrying the Adelantade himſelf, and all the reſt, were obliged to take refuge in the port of Rio de Janeiro, where, on a bare ſuſpicion that Oſorio intended to ſupplant him, he very baſely procured him to be aſſaſſinated. Though the Adelantade, it is probable, was adviſed to this ſtep by many, who were jealous of Oſori's great merit, or envyed him, as a ſtranger, his high poſt; a great many others were ſo exaſperated at it, that ſome of them that reſolved to remain in Brazil, and others were preparing to return to Spain, when the Adelantade, having received notice of their deſign, immediately put to ſea, to prevent their carrying it into execution, and had the unmerited good fortune of arriving ſafe at the iſlands of St. Gabriel. Though Don Diego de Mendoza was greatly pleaſed at ſeeing his brother, he was ſo far from entering into his views, in regard to Don John Oſorio, that he expreſſed the greateſt concern for what had happened, and even made no ſcruple of declaring publicly, that he was greatly afraid ſo unworthy an action would draw down a judgdment upon his brother and his enterprize.

The ſhips being now united between the iſlands of St. Gabriel and the weſtern banks of the river, Don Pedro, thinking the neighbourhood might afford a good ſituation for his firſt ſettlement, ſent Don Sanchez del Campo to look out for a ſure and convenient

venient ſpot for that purpoſe; and, this officer having found one, on a point which advances into a river towards the North, before the coaſt takes a turn to the Weſt, Mendoza immediately ordered the plan of a city to be traced out there, under the name of *Nueſſa Senora de Buenos Ayres*, becauſe the air here is very wholſome. This done, every man, without diſtinction, immediately put his hand to the work, ſo that, in a ſhort time, all were conveniently lodged.

1536. But it was not long before the natives of the country gave the new comers great reaſon to ſuſpect, that they were no way diſpoſed to favour this eſtabliſhment of theirs; therefore, as proviſions began to grow very ſcarce, the Adelantade ſent out his brother with a detachment of 300 men, in order to obtain a ſupply by force, if he could not procure it by fair means. Some noblemen and a great many gentlemen would likewiſe ſerve as volunteers on the occaſion. The ſecond day after their ſetting out, they came in ſight of a body of about 3000 Indians, poſted at the other ſide of a little river, which falls into a marſh, and which it was requiſite to croſs, to proceed on their journey. Moſt of the Spaniards were for waiting, till the Indians themſelves ſhould croſs the river; but Don Diego having directed it to be ſounded, and by that means diſcovered that it was fordable, gave orders for paſſing it without any further delay. The troops obeyed, but the firſt that landed were ſurrounded by the Indians, and charged with ſuch fury, that they had not ſo much as time to form themſelves. Beſides, many of them had ſuffered their arms to get wet in croſſing the river, ſo that they could make no uſe of them. However, as a great number of thoſe left behind ſpeedily arrived to ſupport them, the Indians were repulſed with great loſs. But their loſs ſerved only to exaſperate them, and render them ſtill more furious. The Spaniards, therefore,

were

were at laſt obliged to retreat. Of thoſe who left Buenos Ayres, on this expedition, not above 150 eſcaped the field of battle; and of theſe almoſt one half died of fatigue, or of their wounds, during the retreat; many lords and gentlemen, and among them Don Diego de Mendoza, the general of this little army, loſt their lives on this occaſion.

The ſcarcity, which had prevailed at Buenos Ayres for ſometime paſt, was now changed into a dreadful famine; yet Don Pedro, afraid of giving the Indians a habit of ſpilling Spaniſh blood, forbid the inhabitants, under pain of death, to go into the fields in ſearch of relief. But, as hunger is one of thoſe extremities, which make people blind to the greateſt dangers, and deaf, even to the moſt ſacred injunctions, he placed ſoldiers at all the out-lets to the country, with orders to fire upon thoſe who ſhould endeavour to tranſgreſs his orders. A woman, however, called *Maldonata* was lucky enough to elude the vigilance of the guards; and God twice preſerved her by one of thoſe exertions of his providence, to which public notoriety alone can extort belief from the incredulous, apt to take offence at every thing beſide the common courſe of things. This woman, having for a long time rambled about the country, took notice of a cavern, where ſhe flattered herſelf ſhe might at laſt find a ſure retreat, againſt all the dangers that threatened her: but ſhe had ſcarce entered it, when ſhe ſpied a lioneſs, the ſight of which terrified her to the laſt degree. She was, however, ſoon quieted a little, by the careſſes of this animal, at the ſame time that ſhe perceived they were not diſintereſted. The lioneſs, it ſeems, was reduced to the laſt extremity, as, though her term for littering was expired, ſhe could not get rid of her burthen. Maldonata, upon this, took courage, and gave the poor creature the aſſiſtance ſhe ſeemed ſo earneſtly to require. The lioneſs, being happily delivered, not only immediately gave her

her benefactreſs the moſt ſenſible proofs of her gratitude; but never returned from ſearching her own daily ſubſiſtence, without laying, at the feet of Maldonata, enough for her's, till, the whelps being ſtrong enough to walk abroad, ſhe at laſt took them out with her, and never returned, leaving Maldonata to ſhift for herſelf.

MALDONATA ſoon after fell into the hands of ſome Indians, who made a ſlave of her, and kept her in captivity for a conſiderable time. Being, at length, retaken by ſome Spaniards, ſhe was brought back to Buenos Ayres, where Don Francis Ruiz de Galan commanded for Don Pedro de Mendoza, who happened to be abſent. Galan was a man, whoſe ſeverity often degenerated into cruelty. Therefore, as he knew that Maldonata had ſtolen out of the city, contrary to orders, and did not think her ſufficiently puniſhed by a very long and very cruel ſlavery, he condemned her to death, and to a kind of death, which no man but a tyrant could have thought of. He ordered ſome ſoldiers to take her into the country, and there leave her tied to a tree, not doubting but ſome wild beaſt or other would ſoon come and tear her to pieces.

Two days after, the ſame ſoldiers being ſent to ſee what was become of her, they were greatly ſurprized to find her alive, and unhurt, though ſurrounded by lions and tigers, whom, a lioneſs, lying at her feet with her whelps, kept at a diſtance. As ſoon as the Lioneſs perceived the ſoldiers, ſhe retired a little, as it were to give them leave to unbind her benefactreſs, which they accordingly did. Maldonata then related to them the hiſtory of this Lioneſs, whom ſhe knew to be the ſame ſhe had formerly aſſiſted; and the ſoldiers remarked, that, on their offering to carry away Maldonata, the lioneſs fawned greatly upon her, and ſeemed to expreſs ſome concern at loſing her. On the report the ſoldiers made

made to the commander of what they had ſeen, he ſaw that he could not but pardon a woman, whom heaven had protected in ſo ſignal a manner, without appearing more inhuman than Lions themſelves. The author of *Argentina*, the firſt author to relate this adventure, aſſures us, that he had heard it, not only from the publick voice, but from the mouth of Maldonata herſelf; and Father del Techo ſays, that, when he arrived at Paraguay, a great many perſons ſpoke to him of it, as an event which had happened within their memory, and of which nobody doubted the truth.

I SAID that Don Pedro de Mendoza was ab-
1537. ſent from Buenos Ayres, when Maldonata was brought back to that city. He had, it ſeems, ſet out on an expedition up the Rio de la Plata, in queſt of a remedy againſt the famine, which had already carried off 200 ſouls. Having ſtopt in this excurſion to conſider the ruins of Gabot's tower, he found the ſituation of it ſo very advantageous, that he built a new fort there, under the name of *Good Hope*. Some authors mention it by that of *Corpus Chriſti*. But his chief motive for making this new eſtabliſhment was, his being told by Don Juan de Ayolas, his King's lieutenant, who had got the ſtart of him in this expedition, that he might be always ſure of proviſions among the Timbuez, whom this officer had the good fortune of reconciling with the Spaniards; or at leaſt, among their neighbours, the *Caracoes*. Don Juan de Ayolas had done more. He prudently left a detachment under Don Franciſco de Alvarado, at the place where the fort formerly ſtood. Mendoza, exceedingly well ſatisfied with his lieutenant's conduct, ordered him to continue his navigation up the river, as high as he could go, and gave him three barks, and fifty men, for that purpoſe. He, likewiſe, permitted Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, and ſome other gentlemen, to accompany Don

Don Juan, recommending to him, at the ſame time, to tranſmit, within four months, an account of his tranſactions and diſcoveries, if he could not himſelf return with it.

Mendoza had not as yet amaſſed proviſions enough to put an entire ſtop to the famine at Buenos Ayres, where it was attended with all the horrors we ſo often find mentioned in hiſtory on the like occaſions. But, ſome time after, Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, who went to Brazil in queſt of a ſupply, returned with a cargo, and was ſoon after followed by two others, with Moſchera and all his colony of the iſland of St. Catharine, beſides a great many Brazilian families that had taken a liking to him. Theſe ſeaſonable ſupplies were of great ſervice to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres. But, as the number of them was at the ſame time conſiderably increaſed, though not enough to cover their country labours from the inſults of the neighbouring Indians, who ſeemed, from day to day, more and more determined to extirpate them, there was the greateſt reaſon to fear, that the famine would ſoon break out again with redoubled fury.

Don Juan de Ayolas having, on his ſide, puſhed up the river as far as the place, where the city of the Aſſumption was afterwards built, met with a very friendly reception from the *Guaranis*, who occupy the country for a great way on the eaſtern banks of the Paraguay, but for a much greater way inland, even as far as the frontiers of Brazil. They even filled his veſſels with proviſions, which he paid for in goods which he had taken along with him for that purpoſe. He then advanced to the latitude of 20 degrees 40 minutes, where he diſcovered, to the right, a little port, to which he gave the name of *Candlemaſs Port*. And, as the Guaranis had aſſured him, that in this latitude, he would, by marching weſterly over land, meet with Indians who had a great deal of gold and ſilver, he reſolved to go in queſt of them. He there-

therefore, cauſed himſelf to be put aſhore oppoſite to Candlemas Port, to which he ſent back his veſſels, with directions to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, to whom he had delegated all the authority he himſelf had received from Don Pedro de Mendoza, to wait there for him for ſix months, at the expiration of which, he might, if he heard nothing of him, take what courſe his own diſcretion ſhould dictate to him. He, likewiſe, left, at Candlemas Port, a ſmall detachment of Spaniards, under the command of captain Vergara. But all theſe precautions proved fruitleſs; for, Irala, under pretence that his veſſels began to grow leaky, remained at Candlemas Port but four months.

It is probable, that Don Juan de Ayolas had ſent the Adelentade an account of theſe reſolutions and diſpoſitions of his; but that his letters never came to hand. At laſt, the want of news from him gave Don Pedro de Mendoza great uneaſineſs, as Ayolas was the officer of the whole colony, in whom he had the greateſt confidence, and who beſt deſerved it. He, therefore, diſpatched Don Gonzales de Mendoza, and Don Juan de Salazar, to know what was become of him; and fell ſick a few days after their departure. He had already taken a reſolution to return to Spain; and, as ſoon as he found himſelf ſtrong enough to bear the ſea, took ſhipping, with his treaſurer Juan de Caceres. He left Don Francis de Galan commander at Buenos Ayres; and, in virtue of the power he had received from the Emperor, named Don Juan de Ayolas his ſucceſſor, having firſt appointed him his heir in caſe of death. At length, he put to ſea, with a heart ready to burſt with deſpair, and curſing the day he had tranſported himſelf to ramble after a chimera, and court diſhonour in a ſavage country. He had ſoon as much reaſon to repent his attempting to return. His ſhip had ſcarce loſt ſight of land, when all the elements ſeemed

to have conſpired againſt him. One day, his proviſions being all ſpoiled or exhauſted, he found himſelf obliged to eat of a bitch that was pregnant; and her infected fleſh, joined to the chagrin that inwardly devoured him, brought on a total alienation of his ſenſes, which ſoon changed to a phrenſy, in a fit of which he, at laſt, miſerably expired.

1537-38. When the news of Mendoza's death reached Spain, there were in the port of Seville two ſhips fitted out on his account, that waited only for a favourable wind, to ſail to his aſſiſtance; but, thoſe who had advanced the money neceſſary for this armament, thought proper toſtop them, not knowing who they ſhould apply to for their reimburſement. The Emperor, being informed of this delay, immediately ordered, that the ſhips ſhould be permitted to ſail; gave the command of them to the inſpector Alphonzo Calrera; and added a galleon loaded with ammunition and arms, under the command of Don Lopez de Aguiar. His majeſty, likewiſe, delivered Caceres a commiſſion for Don Juan de Ayolas, appointing him governor and captain-general of the province of Rio de la Plata; and an amneſty for all thoſe who had eat human fleſh; an abomination ſeveral had been driven to, during the late famine at Buenos Ayres, and to avoid puniſhment, had taken refuge among the Indians. Six Franciſcan Friars were, likewiſe, ſent on board the galleon, and, ſupplied by the Emperor with every thing requiſite for the exerciſe of their miniſtry. But, though this convoy ſailed from Cadiz towards the end of 1537, it did not arrive at Buenos Ayres till the year 1539.

1538. During this interval, Don Gonzales de Mendoza, and Don Juan de Salazar, whom the deceaſed governor had ſent in queſt of Don Juan de Ayolas, arrived at Candlemas Port, without being able to procure any intelligence of him; but they were

were informed that Irala was among the ſavages of the neighbourhood, where they, accordingly, found him. They then made with him a great many excurſions and enquiries after Don Ayolas; but all to no purpoſe. Upon this, they faſtened to a tree, at Candlemas Port, a paper to inform Don Juan, in caſe he ſhould happen to come that way, of every thing it was proper he ſhould know; and, above all things, to put him upon his guard againſt the Payaguas. This advice was the more neceſſary, as there is not, perhaps, a more dangerous nation on the face of the earth, ſince they cover the moſt ſavage diſpoſitions, with the moſt engaging manners, and never make greater proteſtations of friendſhip, than when they are treacherouſly meditating ſome miſchief. They are, beſides, ſo expert at contriving means to execute their dark purpoſes, that it is no wonder numbers have been deceived by them, till a great many tragical events had diſcovered their cruelty and craftineſs. Theſe Barbarians have no fixed habitation, but are to be found every where on both ſides of the Paraguay, and on the river itſelf, where they carry on a continual piracy.

Mendoza and Salazar, after leaving Candlemas Port, fell down the Paraguay to the mouth of the moſt northern branch of the Pilco Mayo into that river, in the latitude of 25 degrees and ſome minutes; where, having taken notice of a port formed by a cape that runs South into the Paraguay, from the eaſtern banks of it, they were ſo taken with the conveniency of its ſituation, that they built a fort there, which in a very ſhort time grew into a city; and is, at this day, the capital of the province of Paraguay. This place lies mid-way between Peru and Brazil, and at three hundred leagues from Cape St. Mary. Its founders gave it the name of the Aſſumption, which it ſtill retains.

MENDOZA remained here, while Salazar ſet out for Buenos Ayres, which he found reduced to the laſt extremity. The famine had again broke out there, and was arrived at the greateſt height. Beſides Galan was ſo univerſally deteſted, that all the inhabitants would have deſerted it, but for fear of becoming the prey of wild beaſts, or of the Barbarians who ſurrounded them. Salazar's arrival, therefore, gave them great joy, which was conſiderably increaſed at the ſight of the three veſſels from Spain, under Calrera, which came to an anchor there two or three days after. As Salazar reported, that there was no ſcarcity of proviſions at the Aſſumption, Galan and Calrera reſolved to go there themſelves to obtain a ſupply; and the firſt, having declared that he would take with him a party of ſoldiers, both thoſe he picked out for that purpoſe, and thoſe he left behind, were equally overjoyed; the firſt at the proſpect of ſoon getting into a country where there was no danger of ſtarving; and the laſt, at the thoughts of being rid of a commander, whoſe ſeverity they thought equal to any other ſcourge.

BUT the firſt were greatly diſappointed, when, on their arrival at the Aſſumption, after a great many dangers and fatigues, they found the ſame ſcarcity there, they had eſcaped at Buenos Ayres. Salazar, however, could not be accuſed of having impoſed upon them, as it was on the ſtrength of the good diſpoſition of the Indians towards the Spaniards, he had flatter'd them with the expectation of plenty; and this good diſpoſition had been rendered of no effect by locuſts, which had devoured, in the graſs, all the ſeed the former had ſown; ſo that the commander of Buenos Ayres, who had reinforced his eſcort with half the garriſon of the fort of Good Hope, found himſelf under a neceſſity of making all the haſte he could back, for fear of increaſing a famine in a

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place, in which he flattered himſelf with the hopes of enjoying the bleſſings of plenty.

1539. At his arrival at the fort of Good Hope, he vented his ſpleen upon the Indians in the neighbourhood, called Caracoas; who had, it ſeems, been accuſed to him of having favoured the enemies of the Spaniards. Without examining whether the charge was true or falſe, he reſolved to make them feel the ſmart of his reſentment. He communicated his deſign to Don Francis de Alvarado, commander of the fort, and ſome other officers, who omitted nothing to diſſuade him from ſo baſe a proceeding; but it was all to no purpoſe: and, as he was unwilling to engage in a war, which might delay him too long, and perhaps coſt him a great many men, he made no ſcruple of adding treachery to injuſtice. After treating the Caracoas in the moſt friendly manner, he, one morning at day break fell upon them when they leaſt thought of it; ſet fire to their cabins; carried off a great many of their women and children, whom he diſtributed among his ſoldiers; and then reimbarked with Alvarado, who, it is probable, did not chuſe to remain in a fort, which he foreſaw would ſoon be attacked by all the Indians in the neighbourhood. Don Antonio Mendoza was left to command in his ſtead with 100 ſoldiers.

This perfidious behaviour immediately awakened, in the hearts of the Timbuez, all their ancient animoſity againſt the Spaniards; and they reſolved to rid themſelves effectually of a nation, whoſe promiſes they imagined could never be ſafely relied upon. To be the ſurer of their ſtroke, they pretended an expedition againſt ſome other Indians, who, they gave out, were as much the enemies of the Spaniards, as their own; and then applied for aſſiſtance to Don Antonio Mendoza, who had the imprudence to give them half his garriſon, under the command of Alphonſo Suarez de Figueroa. The Timbuez re-

ceived this reinforcement with great marks of gratitude; and, that very day, the army began its march; but the Spaniards were ſcarce advanced a league, when they were ſuddenly attacked; behind, by a body of their pretended allies, that lay in ambuſh for that purpoſe; and in front, by thoſe who conducted them. They fought, however, with the greateſt bravery; but were, at laſt, overpowered by numbers, ſo that not a ſingle man of them eſcaped.

The Timbuez now flattered themſelves, that they ſhould have no difficulty in reducing thoſe that remained in the fort; and immediately inveſted it with the moſt hideous ſhouts. Mendoza, judging that nothing but a deſperate ſtroke could ſave him, made a ſally upon the Barbarians, in hopes of cutting his way through them; but he loſt his braveſt men in the attempt, and himſelf received a wound that diſabled him. He was, however, fortunate enough to regain the fort, where he had almoſt given himſelf up for loſt, when, happily, two Spaniſh brigantines anchored before it. The commanders of theſe veſſels ſoon perceived that it was beſieged; and, as they had been ſent by Galan, whom his conſcience reproached with his treachery to the Caracoas, and who began to reflect, though a little too late, on the evil conſequences that might attend it, they immediately landed ſome men to relieve the place. The Timbuez, on their ſide, at the ſight of the brigantines, made their laſt efforts to carry it; but the men that were landed, ſupported by ſome diſcharges of cannon from the brigantines, obliged them, at laſt, to retire with conſiderable loſs.

Some days after this, Don Anthony de Mendoza dying of his wounds, the officer who commanded the brigantines, ſeeing no appearance of being able to preſerve the fort of Good Hope, thought proper to demoliſh it, and take on board the miſerable remains of the garriſon. That of the Aſſumption was

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in pretty good condition, and Irala continued to take a great deal of pains to get intelligence of the governor. At laſt, after making a great many excurſions to very little purpoſe, he returned to Candlemas Port. But, though he could hear nothing of Don Ayolas, the writing which he had left there for him, was no longer to be found. He then remounted the river; returned to the Payaguas, where he ran a great many riſks, and was even wounded in a ſkirmiſh. At length, one evening, as he lay anchored at a good diſtance from the ſhore, he heard a voice, calling to him from the other ſide of the river.

He immediately ſent off ſome men, in a canoe, to the place from whence it came, where they found an Indian, who deſired to be conducted to the captain. As this Indian was alone and unarmed, they readily complied with his requeſt. Irala having aſked him what nation he belonged to, he anſwered to the *Chanes*, inhabitants of the plains; and that he wanted to meet ſome Spaniards to inform them of the fate of one of their greateſt captains, called Ayolas. At pronouncing this name, a flood of tears ſtopped his voice, which, after a little pauſe, repeated ſighs again interrupted, till at length being a little come to himſelf, he made a ſhift to give the following account.

"Captain Ayolas, on his arrival among us, communicated to our Cacique his deſign of penetrating further, in order to diſcover whence ſome Indians had got the gold and ſilver, that had been found among them. As he was but badly eſcorted to undertake ſo long, ſo painful, and withal ſo dangerous a journey, our Cacique gave him a reinforcement. He then ſet out; and, at laſt, after many ſkirmiſhes with the Indians, he found out what he was come in queſt of. On his arrival on the frontiers of Peru, he was pretty well received by the Indians he met

there; and, indeed, he deſerved it by his amiable behaviour, and the good order he maintained among thoſe he brought with him. At length, he returned back to our country, loaded with gold and ſilver; and our Cacique made him a preſent of ſome more. He then told us, that he intended to join his countrymen, whom he had left with his barks on the Paraguay, and, then return with a greater eſcort. Upon this, our Cacique ordered ſeveral of his ſubjects to aſſiſt him in tranſporting his treaſures to the river, and I was of the number. We croſſed vaſt deſerts to avoid meeting with ſome nations he ſuſpected; and, at laſt, arrived at the place where he had left his barks; but they were no longer to be found. However, we thought proper to remain with him ſome days longer, in hopes he might, at leaſt, get ſome intelligence of them. In the mean time, ſome Indians, allies of the Payaguas, after having feaſted us with their game, invited us to take ſome repoſe among their friends; but this was only a ſnare laid by the traitors to deceive the Spaniards, who never ſuſpected it; for, when they had brought us into ſome marſhes, where our march was attended with great difficulty, the Payaguas, whom they had informed of their deſigns, fell ſuddenly upon us, and maſſacred the Spaniards. Many of my countrymen, likewiſe, loſt their lives; and I, and all the reſt were made ſlaves. Captain Ayolas had happily made his eſcape, and hid himſelf among ſome buſhes; but they ſoon diſcovered him, and conducted him to an iſland, where they put him to a much more cruel death, than they had done the reſt of the Spaniards. Some time after, I was happy enough to make my eſcape, and have been ever ſince roving about to meet with Spaniards, and inform them of theſe events."

IRALA would have been very glad to chaſtiſe the Payaguas for their perfidy, and recover the treaſure

ſure that had been both their inducement to commit it, and their reward when committed; but the overflowing of the river would not allow him to follow them into their retreats; and, beſides, he had ſcarce a man left, that was not either ſick, or exhauſted with fatigue. Himſelf, had not entirely got the better of his wounds; and, though he had, had ſomething more preſſing to take up his thoughts. He, therefore, made the beſt of his way to the Aſſumption, which already began to wear the face of a city, and where moſt of his officers had taken up their reſidence. Theſe noblemen and gentlemen were reſpected as the conquerors of Paraguay. The diſpatches from the court gave them that title. They even formed, for a long time, the council of the province; and the Emperor, in moſt of his letters to the governors and commanders, ordered them to undertake nothing without their advice. We have ſeen, that Don John de Ayolas had delegated all his authority to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, for the time he ſhould be abſent; and this officer made no doubt of his being acknowledged as governor general of the province of Rio de la Plata, till the Emperor ſhould have named another; nor did any one at the Aſſumption think proper to diſpute this title with him.

Buenos Ayres, in the mean time, was every day loſing its inhabitants; for the laſt proviſions arrived there from Spain having been ſoon conſumed, a third famine enſued, equally violent with either of the two former. Such of the inhabitants, as took refuge among the Indians, were maſſacred by the *Charuas*, who infeſted the whole country. At length Galan and Calrera reſolved to repair to the Aſſumption, and as many of the inhabitants, as could find room in their veſſels, thought proper to accompany them. Galan, finding, on his arrival, that Irala was not univerſally acknowledged as governor general, immediately declared

clared himſelf one of his competitors. But Calrera ſoon put an end to the competition, by producing a ſchedule ſigned by the Emperor, and which his Imperial Majeſty himſelf had delivered him.

This inſtrument, which was dated the 12th of September, 1537, imported, that, in caſe the perſon, who might have been appointed by Don Pedro de Mendoza, governor of Rio de la Plata, ſhould be dead without naming a ſucceſſor, and the founders and conquerors of the province had not themſelves put one in his place, he ſhould aſſemble them, and make them take an oath to elect him, whom they ſhould, in their conſcience, think beſt qualified for ſuch an important employment; that he ſhould ſee, that the perſon elected by a plurality of voices was univerſally acknowledged by the reſt; and obeyed, as one inveſted with the Emperor's authority. Calrera then proceeded to the execution of this commiſſion; and Dominick Martinez de Irala, who had already for him the votes of moſt of the electors, was unanimouſly proclaimed governor and commander general, till his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to name another.

Calrera, before he diſmiſſed the electors, propoſed to them the abandoning of Buenos Ayres, where it was evident, he ſaid, by many years experience, that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt, till the Spaniards ſhould be better able to command the reſpect of the neighbouring Indians, and obtain proviſions from them. The ſentiments of the aſſembly were divided on this head. Several repreſented the neceſſity of having a port for the reception of veſſels from Spain, and how much the city of Aſſumption itſelf, ſituated at three hundred leagues from the ſea, was likely to ſuffer, if no ſhips were to arrive from thence. To this the governor anſwered, that it would be an eaſy matter to eſtabliſh a communication with Peru; and he

he had art enough to perſuade a great many, that they might eaſily procure from thence all the aſſiſtance they could ſtand in need of. No one, at firſt, ſuſpected, though it appeared ſoon after, that all the governor aimed at by this alternative, was to render himſelf independent; as, in caſe it took place, no orders from court could reach him, but very late, and with great difficulty; and, when they did, he could eaſily find pretences for eluding them, ſhould they prove any way diſagreeable to him.

The council, therefore, aſſented to this plan, and Don Diego d'Abreu was charged with the execution of it. As to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, nothing could equal the joy expreſſed by them, at the news of ſuch a reſolution. It proved equally agreeable to the equipage of a Genoeſe ſhip, which, on its voyage to Peru with a cargo worth fifty thouſand ducats, had been firſt ſtopped by contrary winds at the entrance into the ſtreights of Magellan; and, having afterwards put into Rio de la Plata, had the misfortune of being wrecked there, on a ſand-bank pretty near Buenos Ayres, beyond a poſſibility of ſaving any part of the cargo. The men eſcaped the danger of being drowned, but it was only to fall into that of being ſtarved. There were on board this ſhip ſeveral Italian gentlemen, whoſe poſterity, it is probable, ſtill ſubſiſt in Paraguay: at leaſt, we ſhall have occaſion to mention ſome of them in the courſe of this hiſtory. The principal were Don Anthony de Aquino, Don Thomas Rizo, and Don John Baptiſt Trochi.

The governor took care to ſend a plentiful convoy of proviſions to meet the tranſmigrants; and, as ſoon as they were all lodged in the Aſſumption, he ſurrounded it with a paliſadoe; eſtabliſhed a police in it; and took a liſt of the inhabitants, who were found to amount to ſix hundred men, beſides women and children. Some time after this, being de-

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rous of giving the Indians, many of whom had been already baptiſed by the Franciſcan fryers, a grand idea of the chriſtian religion, he bethought himſelf, for that purpoſe, of a general proceſſion; and, accordingly, appointed one for the Holy Thurſday following, in commemoration of our Saviour's paſſion. He then invited all the Indians of the neighbourhood to be preſent at this ceremony; but, as the bad uſage which the Spaniards had already begun to give them, had not inſpired them with any great affection for ſuch maſters; and many of them, beſides, had embraced the goſpel merely through intereſt or fear, few of them came, but in hopes of finding an opportunity to ſhake off a yoke, which, from day to day, was growing more heavy and inſupportable. It is ſaid, there came no leſs than eight thouſand of them to behold this ceremony, without any other arms than their bows and arrows, without which, it was well known, they never appeared any where. But they knew, that theſe arms alone were ſufficient to execute their deſigns, as they knew the Spaniards were to appear on the occaſion, bare ſhouldered; and with no arms but ſcourges, and theſe to be entirely employed on their bodies. And now the proceſſion was going to ſet out, when an Indian woman, ſervant to Salazar, who had always uſed her with great kindneſs, entered his room; and, ſeeing him ready to ſally forth in the equipage of a flagellant, told him, with tears in her eyes, that ſhe was heartily concerned to ſee him thus preparing for deſtruction; and, upon his preſſing her to explain herſelf, led him into the whole affair. He, therefore, ran directly to inform the governor of what he had ſo ſeaſonably diſcovered; and the governor immediately took the only courſe ſuch critical circumſtances admitted.

He pretended he had juſt received intelligence, that the *Japiges*, who had lately declared againſt the

the Spaniards, were almoſt at the gates of the city; and, after diſpatching private orders to all the inhabitants to arm themſelves, he ſent to all the principal chiefs of the Indians, to beg they would directly repair to his houſe, and aſſiſt him with their advice. They accordingly came, not ſuſpecting any deſign againſt them; and, as faſt as they entered, were fettered and ſhut up in ſeparate rooms, till, all being arrived, he acquainted them with the intelligence he had received of their treacherous deſigns, and condemned them to be hanged. The ſentence was immediately executed, in ſight of the great number of Indians aſſembled about the city, who, ſeeing all the Spaniards under arms, not only remained very quiet, but publicly acknowledged they had likewiſe deſerved death; adding, that, if the Spaniards would but pardon them, they ſhould have no reaſon to repent their indulgence. They afterwards made an offer of wives to ſuch of the Spaniards, as were not yet provided with any; and their offer was accepted. The Indian women, whom the Spaniards married on this occaſion, proved fruitful, and tolerably agreeable in their manners and behaviour; which afterwards induced a great many other Spaniards to contract alliances of the ſame kind. Some of them have ſince married Negreſſes; and this is the reaſon, why there are now ſo many Meztizzoes and Mulottoes in this part of America.

1540. As the Emperor, in the mean time, received no news from Paraguay, and, for that reaſon could no longer doubt of Ayolas's death, his Majeſty began to think ſeriouſly of giving it another chief, and ſuch further aſſiſtance as it might be ſuppoſed to require. But the queſtion was to find a man willing to contribute to the expence of a conſiderable armament, after the diſappointments Don Pedro de Mendoza had met with. Charles V. however, was not long at a loſs for

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one. Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeça de Vaca offered to lay out on the occaſion eight thouſand ducats, being all he was worth in the world; and his offer was immediately accepted.

It is very ſurprizing, that a man, in whom probity, prudence, piety, and the moſt diſintereſted zeal for the true honour of his ſovereign, were eminently conſpicuous, ſhould not have proved a bleſſing to Paraguay; and that his great merit ſhould have ſerved only to ruin him, and expoſe him to the moſt injurious treatment. His virtues had already undergone ſome very ſevere trials, in a voyage he made to America in 1528, as treaſurer to the ſquadron of Pamphile de Narvaez, whoſe enterprize had been but one continued iſſue of misfortunes; his veſſels were diſperſed by a ſtorm; and, that which carried Don Alvarez, having been wrecked on the coaſt of New Spain, the whole crew were made ſlaves by the natives. But Don Alvarez ſoon attracted the reſpect of theſe barbarians, eſpecially by the great number of cures he performed, which made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they could hardly be withheld from paying him divine honours. The Spaniards themſelves, on account of his exemplary conduct, conſidered many of theſe cures as altogether miraculous. Don Alvarez, on his return to Spain, maintained the reputation he had ſo juſtly acquired, ſo that the Emperor accepted his offers with great pleaſure. His Majeſty appointed him Adelantade of Rio de la Plata, and governor and captain general of that province; on condition, however, that he ſhould not aſſume the two laſt titles, till he had received certain intelligence of Ayolas's death, under whom he was to act merely as his lieutenant, in caſe this governor ſhould be ſtill living *.

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* The dignity of Adelantade is merely civil, and does not entitle the perſon inveſted with it to the firſt place, but in the

In the inſtructions which the Emperor gave Don Alvarez, he charged him, above all things, not to tolerate any lawyers or attorneys in his government, being convinced, he ſaid, by experience, that law-ſuits tended greatly to retard the progreſs of colonies. He, next, ordered him to take care, that the Spaniards, who ſhould cultivate the lands marked out for them for twenty-five years ſucceſſively, ſhould be conſidered as the proprietors of ſuch lands *; and that all ſhould have liberty to trade with the natives, and return to Spain, when they thought proper. He, likewiſe, declared, that it was his intention, Alcaldes ſhould be appointed in every town for the adminiſtration of juſtice; that no ſettler ſhould be proſecuted for debt for the firſt four years after his arrival in the country, nor pay, during the two firſt any import duties, or any of the imports comprehended under the name of *Almajariſfazgo*; that the privilege of recuſation and appeal to the King's council ſhould be inviolably maintained; that no one ſhould be hindered from having recourſe to his Majeſty's juſtice, or from writing to him; that in criminal cauſes, where the accuſed appealed to the council, the proceedings preſcribed in that caſe by the common law ſhould take place; that in regard to thoſe, who died inteſtate or without heirs, the regulations added to theſe inſtructions ſhould be punctually complied with; that Don Alvarez ſhould decide nothing precipitately, or without advice; and take care that the ſubaltern commanders and judges acted with equal caution; that he ſhould not permit the intereſt of money to exceed a caſtillan †, or the King's fifth to be

the council for civil affairs, and the courts of juſtice; ſo that, in the army, an Adelantade may act as a ſubaltern officer.

* This conceſſion, if it may be called one, ſeems better calculated to tire the patience of new ſettlers than animate their induſtry.

† A piece of gold worth about three ſhillings.

be levied upon any thing but gold or ſilver; that commons for cattle ſhould be every where laid out; in fine, that the ordinary Alcaldes ſhould be allowed to decide all ſuch cauſes, as it was uſual to carry before the tribunal of the *Santa Hermandad**.

Don Alvarez had no ſooner received his diſpatches, than he repaired to Seville, where he purchaſed two ſhips, one of three hundred tons, and the other of one hundred and fifty, with two caravals; and embarked on the four veſſels 400 ſoldiers doubly armed, who had very cheerfully offered to follow his fortunes. From Seville he repaired with his little fleet to Cadiz, and from thence put to ſea the beginning of November. In nine days he reached the iſlands of Palma, and waited there for a favourable wind, till the 26th, when he ſet ſail for the Cape de Verd iſlands. The capitana, or largeſt of his ſhips, though new from the ſtocks, and in other reſpects, to all appearance an excellent veſſel, made a great deal of water, during the paſſage by which a conſiderable quantity of his proviſions was damaged, and his men greatly fatigued. At laſt, however, he in nineteen days reached Santiago, one of the Cape de Verd iſlands.

1541. The air of Santiago is very unwholſome at this ſeaſon of the year, and generally cauſes a very great mortality among the crews of ſuch ſhips as have the misfortune of being obliged to breathe it; notwithſtanding which, Don Alvarez did not loſe a ſingle man, during the five and twenty days he ſtayed at this iſland. This was conſidered as a very extraordinary exemption, and renewed the memory of the prodigies operated by him, during his captivity among the Indians. What happened a few days after, confirmed all his ſoldiers and ſailors in their opinion, that heaven favoured their commander in a ſpecial manner.

After

* This is a tribunal eſtabliſhed for the ſurety of the high roads, and from whoſe ſentence there is no appeal.

After having paſt the line, he found, that, out of one hundred caſks of water put on board the Capitana, but three remained; and, therefore, ordered his pilots to make for the land. The fourth day, before there was light enough to diſcern any thing, the people on board were very much ſurprized to hear a graſhopper ſing. A ſailor, it ſeems, had, unknown to any body, brought one of theſe inſects on board; and this was the firſt time of its being heard. Upon this, ſome of the crew affirmed, that they muſt be very near land, as theſe creatures never fail to ſing when they ſmell it. Don Alvarez, therefore, immediately ſent a ſailor up into the round top, who, the moment it was light, deſcried ſome great rocks bordering a very high land, in ſight of which the ſhips continued their courſe; the graſhopper never failing, during the whole time, to proclaim the return of day, though it had been quite ſilent at the Canary, and Cape de Verd iſlands.

After doubling Cape Trio, in twenty-four degrees of ſouth latitude, they entered the port of Cananea; and arrived, the 24th of March 1541, at the iſland of St. Catherine, which Don Alvarez immediately took poſſeſſion of for the crown of Caſtile, treating the iſlanders, however, with great kindneſs, as alſo the inhabitants of the oppoſite continent, where he heard there were two Friars, in no very agreeable circumſtances. Theſe fathers no ſooner heard of his arrival, than they came to wait upon him, and informed him, that the Indians, among whom they had reſided, had, in fact, a great averſion to the Spaniards, and no great affection for themſelves in particular. Don Alvarez, therefore, promiſed to interpoſe in their favour, and his good offices had the deſired ſucceſs. It now began to appear, that he was bleſſed with a method of treating with the Indians, which never

failed of procuring him, even at the firſt interview, their eſteem and affection.

In the month of May, he detached a caravel, commanded by the treaſurer Philip de Caceres, for Buenos Ayres; but Caceres, having in vain endeavoured to double Cape St. Mary, returned to the iſland of St. Catherine, where twelve Spaniards arrived ſoon after in an open boat. They had made their eſcape from Buenos Ayres, being no longer able, they ſaid, to bear the ill treatment of thoſe who commanded there; they added, that a ſupply of men and proviſions had lately arrived there; but that the famine, notwithſtanding, ſtill continued to rage there with great violence; and that, beſides, the inhabitants, were conſtantly in danger of being exterminated by the neighbouring Indians. They, likewiſe, informed Don Alvarez, that at ſix ſcore leagues from the place where he now was, a town had been lately built under the name of the Aſſumption of the bleſſed virgin; from whence to Cape St. Mary they reckoned, to go down a river the navigation of which was very dangerous, three hundred and fifty leagues; that they had received the moſt certain intelligence of Don Juan de Ayolas, and all thoſe who accompanied him, having been murdered by the Payaguas; and that Don Domingo Martinez de Irala was conſidered as the author of their misfortunes, by not having waited for them at Candlemas Port, according to the directions left with him by Don Ayolas; that the royal officers harraſſed the Indians, and treated the Spaniards but little better; that their deſign, in flying from Buenos Ayres, was to make the beſt of their way to Spain, and inform the royal council of the Indies of all theſe events; laſtly, that Irala had been acknowledged governor general by the whole province, and commanded in perſon, at the Aſſumption.

From

From this relation, inconſiſtent with what we have already ſaid of the evacuation of Buenos Ayres, unleſs we ſuppoſe that thoſe who gave it, had been a long time abſent from that place, Don Alvarez judged his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary at the Aſſumption; and, therefore, reſolved upon going there by the ſhorteſt road, in ſpite of all the arguments made uſe of by his principal officers to perſuade him to continue with the fleet, and touch at Buenos Ayres. He, therefore, ordered the Factor Peter de Orantes, to get intelligence of the route he might take by land; and this officer, after ſurveying the country, reported, that the firſt Indians he had met with, and likewiſe thoſe of St. Catherine who accompanied him, informed him, that the ſhorteſt way was to follow the river *Habucu*, which falls into the ſea oppoſite the northernmoſt point of the iſland of St. Catherine, and about nineteen or twenty leagues from the port where he now was. Don Alvarez ſent again to examine this route, and, being again informed that it was very practicable, reſolved to ſet out without loſing any more time. He intended to have left the Friars we juſt mentioned, in the iſland of St. Catherine, to labour in the converſion of the inhabitants and their neighbours on the continent; but they preſſed him ſo much for leave to accompany him, that he at laſt thought proper to grant their requeſt.

The 18th of October, after giving orders to Don Pedro Eſtopinan Cabeça de Vaca, to ſet ſail with the ſquadron for Buenos Ayres, with the firſt fair wind; and, after ſending a party of his men, with ſix and twenty horſes that he had ſtill left, to wait for him on the banks of the Habucu, he took leave of the inhabitants of St. Catherine, whom he loaded with preſents, and many of whom thought proper to accompany him, both to ſerve

him as guides, and take care he ſhould want no proviſions in his journey. He had ſtill with him two hundred and fifty men, with whom he ſet out on the 8th of November, to join thoſe he had already ſent before him to the Habucu. After nineteen days march, during which his little army were often obliged to open themſelves a road by dint of labour, they began to want proviſions. But, being now arrived in a more populous country, they were ſoon met by a great number of Indians loaded with all manner of fruits and other proviſions for their relief; and expreſſing, beſides, the greateſt pleaſure at the ſight of the new governor.

These were the Guaranis, who grew Maiz, of which they made the earth yield them every year two crops; and Manioc, with which they made Caſſava bread. They, likewiſe, reared hogs, geeſe, poultry, and parrots. Theſe Guaranis were of the ſame origin with thoſe who lived on the eaſtern banks of the Paraguay, oppoſite to the Aſſumption; and both together form one of the moſt numerous and wide extended nations of the whole connent. It is even pretended, that they penetrated as far as the Maranon; that they rendered themſelves formidable by their depredations, wherever they appeared; and that it was on this ſcore they obtained their preſent name, which ſignifies a warrior. The *Chiriguanes*, who inhabit part of the Cordilliera of Peru; the *Tapez*, who had ſettled on the frontiers of Brazil; and even a great many Brazilians; and other nations we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter, who ſpeak the Guarani language; are, all of the ſame extraction; but all have not preſerved the ſame diſpoſitions, and are not equally fierce, and fond of human fleſh; a difference owing to the roving or ſedentary life they lead. Many of them treat their priſoners of war like

like the Canadians. Moreover, they are all of very narrow intellects; and the greateſt obſtacle in civilizing them conſiſts in their almoſt inconceivable want of forecaſt, their ſurpriſing ravenouſneſs, and mortal averſion to any kind of labour.

Those, whom Don Alvarez firſt met with, appeared tolerably peaceable. He took poſſeſſion of their country for the crown of Spain, but without letting them know any thing of the matter; and gave it the name of *Provincia del Campo*. That he next entered, and which he likewiſe took poſſeſſion of, was pretty much of the ſame nature; and he called it after his family, *Provincia de Vera*; but theſe names ſubſiſt no longer. The firſt of December, he arrived on the banks of the *Iguazu*, a great river which falls into the Parana, between the 25th and 26th degrees of ſouth latitude; and, on the third, diſcovered another, called *Cibogi*, whoſe bottom is paved with ſtones ſo large, and, withal ſo well laid, that one would be apt to take it for the work of art. It is, moreover, ſo very rapid, that the men and horſes could hardly keep their footing; ſo that they were obliged to be tied together, to croſs it with ſafety.

The good order obſerved by Don Alvarez, during his march, gained him, wherever he appeared, the eſteem and affection of the Indians. They, therefore, gave each other notice of his approach, and never failed coming to meet him with proviſions; which kindneſs he always acknowledged by paying them twice the value. His greateſt attention was, to hinder any injury being offered them, or any thing being done, that might ſcandalize them. He never permitted any Spaniards to enter their villages, except thoſe who were to buy proviſions; and never ſent on this errand, but thoſe, whoſe diſcretion he could depend upon. The leaſt liberty, that any Spaniard took with

them, was ſeverely puniſhed. This his zeal to prevent the Indians being ſcandalized or otherwiſe injured, made him ſoon repent his having taken with him the two Friars, he intended to have left behind at St. Catherine's, as they did not always behave in a manner ſuitable to the holineſs of their character. They even ſeparated from him without his knowledge; and it was not long before he found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending to look for them in a place, where he was informed their bad behaviour had made their ſituation very dangerous and diſagreeable.

He was met, ſome time after, by a Brazilian, named Michael, juſt returning from the Aſſumption, whither he offered to be his guide. Alvarez accepted his offer, and diſmiſſed the Indians who had hitherto ſerved in that capacity, with a handſome reward for their pains and fidelity. Towards the middle of December, he found himſelf in the latitude of 24 degrees; and, in a few days more, in a country covered with cypreſs and cedar trees, and others not known in Europe, whoſe trunks were all full of excellent honey; particularly pines of an extraordinary ſpecies, being four or five fathoms in circumference, and bearing nuts encloſed in ſhells pretty like cheſnut ſhells, but no bigger than acorns. Theſe nuts the inhabitants of the country made into a meal, which was one of their beſt foods. The hogs and monkeys, both very common in this country, likewiſe fed upon them; and the fleſh of the former acquired by it a moſt excellent flavour. A little farther, the Spaniards met with fields, where Maiz had been ſown; as, likewiſe white, yellow, and red potatoes. They afterwards entered a mountainous country, the vallies of which abounded with canes containing a very wholeſome and refreſhing water; and, likewiſe, worms

worms of a finger's thickneſs, which, fried in their own fat, appeared to the Spaniards a moſt delicious repaſt.

Don Alvarez, after this, bent his march towards the Iguazu, in order to embark there, and fall down to its junction with the Parana; but, being informed, that it was hereabouts, the Portugueſe from Brazil, mentioned in the beginning of this book, had been maſſacred by the Indians, and that thoſe inhabiting the banks of a little river called *Pequeri*, which riſes within a ſmall way of the Iguazu, and falls into the Uruguay, lay in wait for him, he took with him but fourſcore men, ordering the reſt to march, by land, on both ſides of the river. On his entering the Parana, he found both its ſhores guarded by an army of Guaranis, with their bodies painted all over, and caps of feathers on their heads, who ſeemed reſolved to diſpute the paſſage with him; but he not only made them drop their arms by his engaging behaviour, but obtained conſiderable aſſiſtance from them. The Parana, in this place, is, about a bow-ſhot over, and very deep; notwithſtanding which its rapidity is ſo great as to produce whirl-pools, which render its navigation very dangerous. One of Don Alvarez's canoes was overſet by one of theſe whirl-pools, and a man in it drowned. This accident affected Don Alvarez the more, as he had not as yet loſt a ſingle man in his long and painful march from the ſea to this river.

Don Alvarez, before he entered the Parana, ſent to the Aſſumption, to deſire the governor might ſend him two Brigantines; and was ſo much the more ſurpriſed, not to find them at the place he had appointed, as he had mentioned in his letter, that a great many of his men were ſick, and the reſt very much fatigued. In this dilemma, therefore, he embarked, upon rafts, ſuch as were no longer in a condition to proceed by land, with fifty men to

defend them, in caſe they ſhould be attacked. He then ſet forward himſelf with the reſt; and was ſoon met by a Spaniard ſent from the Aſſumption to enquire, if it was really true, that there was a new governor arrived from Spain; for, it ſeems, the inhabitants of that place could hardly be brought to believe ſo agreeable a piece of news.

As Don Alvarez had ſent notice of his
1542. arrival, he was greatly ſurpriſed at ſo ſingular a queſtion. He had, however, command enough over himſelf, not to let any one know what he thought of the matter. Beſides, the Guaranis made him more than amends for this diſreſpectful behaviour; for, wherever he came, he found the roads lined with men, women, and children, lifting their hands up to heaven, to bleſs God for having beſtowed on them a governor, whom they, every where, heard ſo much good of. They brought him all manner of proviſions, and even ſent deputies to compliment him, which ſome performed in their own language, and ſome, in the Spaniſh. On his nearer approach to the city, moſt of the inhabitants came out to meet him, and expreſſed their joy, on his ſafe arrival, in terms ſufficient to convince him, that the province ſtood greatly in need of a man, like him, to govern it.

At length, he arrived at the Aſſumption, the eleventh of March, followed by a great number of officers and other gentlemen, who came out to compliment him. Irala received him at the head of the garriſon, attended by the officers of the revenue, and the council of the province. Don Alvarez then produced his commiſſions, which, being read with a loud voice, Irala ſaluted him in quality of adelantadé, governor, and captain general of Rio de la Plata. Don Alvarez, on his ſide, confirmed Irala, in his poſt of king's lieutenant; and all the officers

officers of juſtice, in theirs; and every thing paſſed, in appearance, to the greateſt ſatisfaction of all parties. But the ſincereſt joy ſeemed to be that of the army, and the common people. The Spaniards, whom Don Alvarez had left to follow him on rafts, did not arrive in leſs than a month after him. They were attacked by ſome Indians, who attempted, with long poles armed with hooks, to draw the rafts aſhore, and would, perhaps, have ſucceeded in the attempt, if a chriſtian Cacique had not come to the aſſiſtance of the travellers, with all his warriors. The Barbarians, however, wounded ſome of the Spaniards, but the Cacique had their wounds very well dreſt, and took them home for ſome days, ſo that they all arrived in pretty good health and condition.

THE fate of theſe travellers added new luſtre to the prudent conduct of the governor. It was deemed an inconteſtable mark of his ſuperior merit, and of his enjoying the ſpecial protection of heaven, that, after traverſing ſo great an extent of country inhabited by Barbarians, without meeting with any, but the moſt reſpectful and affectionate treatment, he had no ſooner ſeparated from part of his men, than thoſe, who ceaſed to have him at their head, began to find, in the ſame Indians, the moſt furious and inveterate enemies. But many of thoſe, who could not help allowing the juſtneſs of theſe reflections, took no pains to benefit by his example; chuſing to conſider as a miracle, the manner in which the Indians behaved to him, rather than allow it to be the natural conſequence of virtues, which they were no way diſpoſed to imitate.

BOOK II.

Zeal of Don Alvarez to re-eſtabliſh Buenos Ayres, which his predeceſſor had abandoned, and to civilize and convert the Indians, many of whom, particularly the Guaycurus, notwithſtanding his great moderation, he is obliged to bring to reaſon by force of arms. Account of the Guaycurus and their country. A conſpiracy againſt Don Alvarez; defeated. Expeditions up the Paraguay and the rivers falling into it, by him and his officers. Curious particulars of the countries viſited by them, and the neighbouring countries; eſpecially a rich country, greatly reſembling that ſo much talked of, under the name of Del Dorado. *Another conſpiracy againſt Don Alvarez. He is confined; ſent to Spain; and, at length, acquitted of the charges brought againſt him by the conſpirators. Don Dominick Martinez de Irala, declared governor by them; undertakes another expedition up the Paraguay. Revolution at the Aſſumption during his abſence.*

DON ALVAREZ heard nothing of the evacuation of Buenos Ayres, till his arrival at the Aſſumption; when, his firſt care, was to take proper meaſures for its reeſtabliſhment. He immediately ſent two brigantines there; and, ſoon after, two others, and omitted nothing, to put in a good ſtate of defence, a place, whoſe importance he was thoroughly acquainted with. He zealouſly applied himſelf to gain the affections of the neighbouring Indians; and

and, being fully perſuaded, that the beſt way to inſure ſucceſs to an attempt of this nature, and to attach them inviolably to the Spaniards, was to unite them together, in the bonds of one religion he made their converſion the principal object of his attention. The firſt ſtep he took for this purpoſe was to aſſemble all the regular and ſecular clergy of the Aſſumption, in order to acquaint them, in the Emperor's name, that his Majeſty charged their conſciences with every thing relating to the propagation of the goſpel, in theſe dark countries; he then diſtributed amongſt them ſacred veſſels and ornaments for the altar, of which he had made an ample proviſion; and concluded by giving them his word, that he would ſupport them, with all his authority, in the functions of their miniſtry; and let them want for nothing, when the worſhip of God required his aſſiſtance.

GREAT complaints had been made to him, that the officers of the revenue, under pretence of levying the Emperor's duties, treated the natives very cruelly. To remedy this abuſe, he aſſembled the men of greateſt note in his government, as well thoſe of the regular and ſecular clergy, as thoſe of the garriſon and the revenue, and with them the Caciques of the Guaranis, and their miſſionaries; and acquainted them, that it was the Emperor's intention, the Indians ſhould ſhew the greateſt reſpect to thoſe, who, in order to teach them the way to heaven, had been charitable enough to baniſh themſelves from their native country, and ſubmit to live among them; that, as this great prince had nothing more at heart, than to make them happy during this life, and to ſecure to them everlaſting bliſs in the next, he had given him the ſtricteſt orders to ſee that they were well uſed by all thoſe they had to do with; and that he was reſolved, to pay the moſt punctual obedience to his Majeſty's intentions

tentions in this reſpect; but that he expected, on the other hand, that they ſhould behave to the Spaniards, in the ſame manner; and renounce the cuſtom, which he, with the greateſt horror, heard they were given to, of feeding upon human fleſh. The Indians, upon this, aſſured him, that they ſhould cheerfully obey his orders; and all withdrew, penetrated with reſpect, and equally charmed with his promiſes, and his gracious manner of making them.

Don Alvarez, in the next place, applied himſelf to repreſs the inſolence of ſome Indian nations, who were conſtantly committing hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards. He began by the Agazes, or Algazes, who lived to the eaſt of Paraguay, above the Aſſumption. Theſe Barbarians, who had ever been the declared enemies of the Guaranis, were of the talleſt ſtature, of a very treacherous diſpoſition, to the laſt degree fierce and inhuman, and great robbers. The Spaniards, before the arrival of Don Alvarez, had made war againſt them with ſome ſucceſs, and had obliged them to ſue for peace, which, the Agazes, however, were reſolved to obſerve, only till an opportunity offered of breaking it to advantage; and, they had, even already, began to renew their incurſions. But they no ſooner heard of the arrival of a new governor, with a freſh body of troops, than they ſent him a deputation of three of their Caciques, to promiſe him the moſt perfect and unlimited obedience. The firſt of the deputies added, that it was not his nation, that had renewed the war, but ſome lawleſs young men, who had been ſeverely puniſhed for their inſolence. Don Alvarez thought proper to appear ſatisfied with this apology, and received their countrymen into favour; but on condition, that they would no longer moleſt the Guaranis, or any other of the Emperor's vaſſals, threatening, that, in caſe they did, he would not, for the future, ſhew them the leaſt mercy.

The

The governor, though thus intent on ſecuring the peace of his province againſt its Indian enemies, did not forget the heavy complaints he had received of the revenue officers, who exciſed every thing, and thereby reduced a great number of families to ſuch diſtreſs, that many of them had nothing left to purchaſe the moſt ordinary cloathing. He began, by ſupplying the moſt indigent, with what they wanted, at his own expence. He, next, ſuppreſſed ſuch taxes as the officers had eſtabliſhed, without a ſufficient authority for ſo doing; and being informed, that theſe men began to cabal againſt him, he ordered them to be confined, and proſecuted according to law.

In the mean time, the Guaranis and ſome other nations, who had ſubmitted to the Spaniards, made heavy complaints to him, of the *Guaycurus*. But, though he liſtened to them, with a great deal of goodneſs, he thought it his duty to examine if their complaints were well grounded, before he took any ſtep to redreſs them; he, therefore, charged the two eccleſiaſticks, and the two religious he had brought with him from St. Catharine's, to enquire into the matter; and, their report agreeing with the complaints of his Allies, he ſent back the two eccleſiaſticks, with fifty ſolders, to tell the Guaycurus, in his name, that he was very well diſpoſed to live in peace with them, and even receive them among the nnmber of his friends, provided they would acknowledge themſelves vaſſals to the crown of Spain, and not moleſt thoſe Indians, who had done ſo already; otherwiſe, he would let them ſee, that he did not want force ſufficient to exact their compliance.

He even ordered his deputies to ſummon them three times, in this manner; but the Barbarians did not give them an opportunity of complying with his directions. After anſwering the firſt part of his

his meſſage, by declaring, that they never would acknowledge the king of Spain for their ſovereign; and that they were firmly reſolved to continue their hoſtilities; they deſired the deputies to withdraw, and even diſcharged ſome arrows at them, by which ſeveral ſoldiers were wounded. Don Alvarez thought it his duty, not to ſuffer ſo much inſolence to go unpuniſhed; and the 12th of July, 1542, he embarked upon two brigantines, with four hundred Spaniards, followed by ten thouſand Guaranis on two hundred rafts, for the oppoſite banks of the river. The 14th, all the troops were landed, and the governor ſent a detachment of Guaranis, to know how the Guaycurus were poſted. The Guaranis reported, that they were marching back to their towns, with all their families, hunting by the way, according to cuſtom, ſo that they retreated but very ſlowly. Upon this Don Alvarez gave orders to purſue them; and not to diſcharge any of their great or ſmall arms, or light any fires in the night time during the purſuit.

The 15th, the allies began their march, in the following order. A proper number of ſcouts, preceded the main body, in order to make uſeful diſcoveries; and, by night, ſpies were ſent out, to examine where the enemy encamped. The Guaranis formed a battalion, whoſe front extended a whole league. They all wore caps made of feathers; and, on their foreheads, plates of a certain kind of metal, which, when the ſun ſhone upon it, caſt a great luſtre. The Spaniſh cavalry appeared next, at a little diſtance, followed by the governor, at the head of the infantry. The march was cloſed by carts full of Indian women, and the neceſſary ſtores. About the middle of the firſt day's march, a ſpy, belonging to the Guaycurus, came to acquaint the governor, that the Guaranis had conſpired to withdraw themſelves; and this intelligence

gence, whoſe author the Spaniards did not know to be what he really was, gave them ſome uneaſineſs. Don Alvarez, however, thought proper not to let the Guaranis know any thing of the matter; and, as the moon ſhone very bright, continued his march after night-fall, having firſt given the Spaniards orders to keep their matches lighted, and their arms in readineſs againſt the firſt notice.

When they had marched for ſome time in this manner, they arrived at a ſmall, but very thick, wood, where the governor thought proper they ſhould halt for the remainder of the night. But the Guaranis had ſcarce entered it, when a tyger, getting among them, cauſed ſome diſorder in their battalion. The Spaniards, who, in conſequence of the falſe notice they had received the day before concerning theſe Indians, entertained the moſt violent ſuſpicions of their fidelity, took it into their heads, that they were now preparing to withdraw, or even attack them. They, therefore, immediately fired upon the body they formed, and wounded ſome of them. Upon this, the Guaranis all took to their heels, to gain a mountain in the neighbourhood; and, that very moment, as the Spaniards ſtill continued to fire, two balls grazed the cheek of Don Alvarez, who had ſtept forward in order to put a ſtop to the diſorder. His ſecretary tells us in his Memoirs, that this ſhot had been levelled at him by ſome one or another, deſirous of doing pleaſure to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, who could not bear the thoughts of being a ſubaltern in a province, where he had commanded in chief; and, unhappily for this officer's character, his ſubſequent behaviour has given all the reaſon in the world to believe, that his ruling paſſion was to have no ſuperior, and that he was no way ſcrupulous in the choice of means to make himſelf independent. It has even been the opinion of ſeveral,

that

that Don Juan de Ayolas, fell a ſacrifice to his ambition.

Don Alvarez, however, continued to follow the Guaranis to the top of the mountain, where, on his firſt appearance, they all immediately gathered about him. He then ſet them right, by telling them, that the Spaniards, on ſeeing them in motion, thought they were going to deſert them. The Guaranis anſwered, that, on their ſides, they imagined the Guaycuras were coming to fall upon them, and that, in gaining the mountain, they had nothing in view, but to take poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt to defend themſelves. Don Alvarez then addreſſed himſelf to the Spaniards, ſtrictly commanding them not to give the Guaranis the leaſt cauſe of ſuſpicion or complaint; taking notice, that, if ſo numerous a nation ſhould declare againſt them, they would never be able to maintain their ground at the Aſſumption, as the Guaranis could eaſily unite with the Guaycurus to drive them out of it. He, at the ſame time, ordered the cavalry to march firſt; and, in this order, proceeded till two hours after night-fall, when, the whole army halted a ſecond time to take ſome reſt and refreſhment; after which they ſet out again, about eleven, in the greateſt ſilence.

Some time after, one of the governor's ſpies came to inform him, that he had left the Guaycurus building themſelves huts. This intelligence gave Don Alvarez the more pleaſure, as he was afraid the vollies of ſmall arms fired in the beginning of the night had been heard by theſe barbarians, and made them haſten their retreat. However, he ordered his troops to march but ſlowly, in order to arrive by day break within ſight of the enemy. He then diſtributed little croſſes among the Guaranis, which he deſired them to wear on their breaſts or ſhoulders, that the Spaniards might diſtinguiſh them

them during the engagement; ordered hay to be put into the horſes mouths to prevent their neighing; and directed the Guaranis to inveſt the Guaycurus, except for a ſmall ſpace towards the mountains, not chuſing to reduce them to deſpair, as he knew they would, in that caſe, ſell their lives at a very dear rate.

THE Spaniards and Guaranis ſoon after got within hearing of the enemies drums, to the ſound of which theſe barbarians cried out with all their might; that they defied all the nations of the world to come and attack them; that their numbers were but few, but that they were the braveſt men on the face of the earth; the lords of all its inhabitants, and of all animals. It is cuſtomary with them, to ſing in this manner every night, when they happen to be at war, and think the enemy at no ſmall diſtance from them. At day-break, they quitted their camp, and laid themſelves flat on the ground; but the next moment perceived the army of the chriſtians. At this unexpected ſight, they immediately began to cry out, "Who are you, that thus dare to approach us?" And the Guaranis having anſwered them, in their own language, that they were come to revenge the death of the Indians they had maſſacred." "Draw near then, replied the Guaycurus, we will ſerve you in the ſame manner;" and at the ſame time, darted fire-brands in the faces of the chriſtians. Then running to their huts for their bows and arrows, they fell upon Don Alvarez's forces with ſo much fury, that the Guaranis at laſt began to give way.

THE governor, upon this, having commanded Don Pedro de Barba to give the Guaycurus a diſcharge from his artillery; and Don Juan de Salazar to advance with the infantry, which he himſelf drew out in order of battle, ordered the charge to be ſounded with the uſual cry of *Santiago*. He,

himſelf was to be ſeen every where among the foremoſt, ſtopping thoſe who endeavoured to cover him from the enemy; and this undaunted behaviour of his, along with the ſight of the horſes, which the Guaycurus were utterly unacquainted with, cauſed ſo great conſternation among them, that, after ſetting fire to their cabins, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation to the mountain, through the opening that had purpoſely been left for them. Their number amounted to four thouſand. Some Spaniards having advanced too haſtily, while the cabins were on fire, two of them were killed; and the Guaycurus cut off their heads, after treating, in the ſame manner, two Guaranis whom they had taken priſoners in the beginning of the engagement. Don Alvarez purſued the runaways for ſome time. During the purſuit, one of them faced about; faſtened upon the neck of a trooper's horſe, who rode by the ſide of Don Alvarez; and never let go his hold, till he was killed; as were a great many others. The governor, at length, ordered a retreat to be ſounded; and, after a ſhort repoſe, marched back with all his army towards the Aſſumption.

Don Alvarez ſoon perceived, that he had a party of Guaycurus at his heels; for thoſe Indians, knowing it was cuſtomary with the Guaranis to retreat, without looking behind them, as ſoon as they carried off but an arrow or any ſuch ſlight thing from an enemy, and ramble different ways, were in hopes of picking up ſome of them by this means. But the governor, though with a great deal of pains, obliged the Guaranis to march in a body, and in good order, till they were got quite out of the reach of the enemy. The Spaniards made about four hundred priſoners of both ſexes, and all ages, on this occaſion; and, when there no longer appeared any enemies behind them,

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broke up and hunted all the reſt of the way home, ſo that they all arrived at the Aſſumption loaded with every ſort of game, that the country afforded.

Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, whom the governor had left to command there during his abſence, informed him at his return, that ſeveral Indian nations, alarmed by the war he had declared againſt the Guaycurus, had ſent deputies to know, if he would receive them as friends; in which caſe they even offered to join the Spaniards againſt all their enemies; but that theſe deputations appeared ſuſpicious to him; and that he even imagined the ſole deſign of them was to diſcover, if it was poſſible, to ſurprize the place, while the greateſt part of the garriſon was abſent; which determined him to detain the deputies. Don Alvarez, upon this, cauſed them to be brought into his preſence; and, not finding Don Mendoza's ſuſpicions ſufficiently grounded, treated them all with a great deal of kindneſs; and diſmiſſed them loaded with preſents to acquaint their caciques, that he was very willing to receive, as friends and vaſſals to the Emperor, all thoſe who were diſpoſed to live in peace with his allies.

This was not the caſe with the Agazes, of whom Mendoza made heavy complaints to Don Alvarez. Theſe traitors, on a ſuppoſition that the town had been left in a defenceleſs condition, had gathered about it, the very firſt night after the army's ſetting out; and, though they retreated on finding their intentions diſcovered, had committed, in their way home, great diſorders in the villages of the Guaranis. Don Alvarez, incenſed at this behaviour, ordered the hoſtages, which they had given him on his granting them a peace, to be hanged; but deferred till another time to puniſh them perſonally for this breach of their promiſe. The *Yapuruez* or *Itapuruez*, a roving unſettled people, in the

neighbourhood of the Guaycurus, who had hitherto been very troubleſome to the Spaniards, behaved with more diſcretion; they came in of themſelves to ſue for peace; accepted it on Don Alvarez's own conditions; and have ever ſince inviolably obſerved them.

As the late defeat of the Guaycurus had not ſufficiently terrified that fierce and numerous nation, to leave the Spaniards any great hopes, that they would not, on the firſt favourable opportunity, recommence hoſtilities; Don Alvarez reſolved, once for all, to prevent any future uneaſineſs from that quarter. But, as it was no eaſy matter to make him deſpair of gaining, by fair means, thoſe eſpecially, whom he had convinced it was in his power to reduce by force; he thought proper not to employ the laſt, till the firſt ſhould prove ineffectual. He, therefore, began by taking from the Guaranis ſuch of the Guaycurus as had fallen into their hands, after declaring to both, that it was the Emperor's intention, that the priſoners of war ſhould not be treated as ſlaves; and added, that he would ſeverely puniſh whoever diſobeyed his Majeſty in this reſpect. Having, after this, caſt his eyes upon one of the priſoners that had been brought before him, and whoſe figure and countenance ſpoke greatly in his favour, he ordered him to return home, and let his countrymen know, that he was ſtill ready to receive them into the number of his friends, on the terms he had at firſt propoſed to them. This man executed his commiſſion ſo well, that all the inhabitants of his village ſet out along with him for the Aſſumption. As ſoon as they made their appearance on the oppoſite banks of the river, Don Alvarez ſent canoes to ferry them over; and twenty of their principal men immediately embarked, in order to wait upon him. Having received them in a very friendly

friendly manner, he was told by one among them, who was commiſſioned to ſpeak for the reſt, that his nation had made war upon every other nation, and ſubdued them all; but that they now found the Spaniards to be braver than themſelves, and had, therefore, ſent him to deliver up their arms; that the governor might give them what orders he pleaſed, and that they ſhould chearfully obey them. The ambaſſador added, that the Guaranis had never dared to attack them alone; but that, notwithſtanding, they were willing to live in peace with them for the future, on the governor's account.

Don Alvarez made anſwer, that he was come into the country to prevail on the inhabitants to embrace the only religion that was true, and yield homage to the Emperor; and to eſtabliſh a laſting peace among the ſeveral nations, into which they were divided; that, if they would but promiſe him never to diſturb the peace, they might be ſure to obtain from him all the favour and protection they could wiſh for; and that he would reſtore them all the priſoners he and his allies had taken from them in the late engagement. He even delivered them, on the ſpot, all thoſe that were to be found at the Aſſumption; which made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they immediately ſwore inviolable allegiance to the Emperor. He then made them a great many preſents, and diſmiſſed them highly pleaſed with his diſcourſe, but more with his behaviour. As we ſhall be often obliged to ſpeak again of this nation, I think it my duty to take this opportunity of making the reader properly acquainted with it. He may judge, by what I am about to ſay of them, how neceſſary it was for the ſucceſſors of Don Alvarez to follow his example in dealing with the natives of this vaſt continent.

I SAID that the Guaycurus were a numerous nation; but it is only in compariſon with moſt of thoſe, who inhabit this part of the continent of America; for they are very far from being ſo in proportion to the vaſt tract of land occupied by them. It is true, that a great deal of their country is almoſt uninhabitable, being full of marſhes when the rivers overflow, and ſo dry and parched up at other ſeaſons of the year, that the ground is every where full of great clefts and crevices; and the inhabitants, to avoid periſhing with thirſt, are obliged to take poſt in the neighbourhood of ſome other marſhes which never dry, and whoſe waters are very foul and turbid. The Guaycurus form three tribes; all of them, a cruel, fierce, intractable people, and very troubleſome neighbours to the province of Paraguay, whoſe inhabitants often ſee their country ſettlements full of them, when they think them at the greateſt diſtance; nay, they have often the aſſurance to offer to ſale in one place what they have carried off from another. Drunkeneſs prevails among them to ſuch a degree, as to almoſt deſtroy all the hopes the miſſionaries might otherwiſe entertain of being able to civilize them. They generally go quite naked, except the women, who wear a covering from the waſte down to the calf of the leg. When the weather is very cold, which ſeldom happens in their country, they all wear ſhort cloaks, with large caps made of ſkin, which they are always very ready to exchange with the Spaniards for wine or any other ſtronger liquor. They paint their bodies more or leſs, according to their age, and their rank in the army. The minute a child comes into the world, they bore its ears to hang to them ſome baubles; and, as faſt as the hairs appear, pull them all out by the roots, except enough to form a tuft on the crown of the head, and two crowns, of which this tuft is the center.

center. But this ornament is peculiar to the males; for they do not leave a ſingle hair on the heads of the girls. The boys are painted black till the age of fourteen; and, afterwards, red, till ſixteen, when they obtain a bracelet, which they wear a little above the navel, a belt, and a net work cap for their hair. Till this ceremony they are kept under great ſubjection, and any one may lay what commands he pleaſes upon them It is cuſtomary to prick them early in ſeveral parts of the body; and, though this operation, in the manner they perform it, is extremely painful; children but four or five years old have been ſeen to apply for it very earneſtly, and endure it with the greateſt conſtancy.

Before they give their children a name, they bore their lower lip to hang to it ſome trinket or other, which they call *Albata*. This ceremony is performed by their juglers, or old warriors. If there is any ornament in this, it is an ornament fit only for barbarians; but I am more inclined to think, they do it to appear more terrible; and it certainly anſwers this purpoſe; for, what with the different colours, with which they daub themſelves; their almoſt total want of hair on their heads; and the odd form of what they keep; their want of eyelaſhes, which they ſay they take off in order to ſee the better; their numerous ornaments of glaſs, ſhells, and metals, which they hang to their bells, and the jingle of which may be heard at a conſiderable diſtance; their ears and their lips bored and loaded with imaginary jewels; they make a moſt frightful figure, and ſuch as ſtrangers can ſcarce ever accuſtom themſelves to.

By the ſubjection, under which they keep their children, the boys are early enured to war, and the girls to labour; but, on this occaſion, the laws of

nature, and the dictates of reaſon, are utterly diſregarded. They take no pains to form their heads or their hearts, or inſpire them with the leaſt reſpect or attachment to thoſe, from whom they received their beings; nay, they often have the inſolence, when ſtrong enough, to ſtrike their parents, without having any thing to fear from the laws of their country. Their villages are but a kind of ſpacious barns, divided, by partitions, into three great rooms or halls, and covered with a roof, barely ſufficient to ſcreen them from the heat of the ſun; for the leaſt puff of wind is ſufficient to carry it away. The Cacique occupies the middle diviſion, with his family and his officers. Here likewiſe, all the arms of his ſubjects, are conſtantly depoſited. The ſubjects live on both ſides, where all the furniture appears, one thing a top of another, in the moſt diſorderly manner. The Cacique, whoſe dignity is hereditary, receives great honours from his ſubjects, who acknowledge in him an unlimited authority, and always obey his orders with the greateſt readineſs and punctuality. His children, as ſoon as they come into the world, are committed to the care of ſome truſty perſons, and ſent to ſome diſtant place, where, according to the ideas of the people, they are pretty well educated. During this courſe of education, they ſee their parents but very ſeldom.

The boys are admitted ſoldiers at ſixteen; and this firſt ſtep to military preferment is very painful. It is always ſome diſtinguiſhed veteran, who performs the ceremony. He, firſt, makes the candidate ſit down by him; and then begins to pull out, by the roots, the hairs that compoſe one of his crowns. This the boy muſt ſuffer without ſtirring, or making the leaſt complaint. He, next, pricks him all over the body, and even in the moſt private and ſenſible parts, with a ſharp pointed bone; and with

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the blood, that iſſues from the numerous punctures, rubs his head. Then, he ſeizes the tuft of hair on the crown of the patient's head; pulls it with all his ſtrength; ties it as hard as he can; and wraps it up in a net. To conclude, he rubs him all over the body with a red earth, and declares him ſoldier. The new ſoldier is henceforth treated with honour; no private perſon has, after this ceremony, any right to command him; and he may do what he pleaſes.

The degree of veteranſhip is conferred at the age of twenty, it being ſuppoſed, that at twenty, a man has acquired his full ſtrength and vigour. The perſon, who intends to take this degree, cauſes his tuft to be cut off the evening before his reception; and the crown of hair that ſtill remains, to be reduced to a finger's breadth; after which, he rubs himſelf all over the body with melted wax, or fiſh greaſe. The night following, he paints himſelf from top to toe, with different colours; binds his head below the crown of hair that ſtill remains, with a bandage of red thread; covers all his body with little feathers prettily enough diſpoſed and hangs to his belt little balls made with the ſame kind of feathers. Thus equipt, he takes into his hand a kind of drum, or rather balloon, well ſtuft with water, which he beats with a calabaſh, ſinging all the time, from day-break till about five in the evening. He, next, diſtributes among ſeven ſoldiers choſen by himſelf for this purpoſe, ſharp pointed bones, with which they, four or five times, prick his privities through and through. Then, to conclude the ceremony, they rub his head with the blood that iſſues from the wounds they have made.

The life of a ſoldier among the Guaycuras is a very painful one, in peace as well as in war; they are conſtantly on the watch, that they may not be ſurpriſed by their enemies. Every town has a cen-

centinel placed on a little eminence, to give notice of every motion in the neighbourhood; and, at night conſtantly ſends out ſcouts, to ſcour the country; and, beſides, places ſoldiers up and down, who never ceaſe whiſtling, to ſhew that they are awake, and on their guard. They are all up at the firſt alarm, when thoſe, who cannot bear arms, immediately fly to ſome place of ſafety, where it is impoſſible to track them, they leave ſo little impreſſion behind them upon the ground they tread on. They ſcarce uſe any other diverſion, but that of ſhooting at a mark, and are, of courſe, excellent markſmen. Beſides their bows, arrows, and mancanas, they have a kind of knife made with the jaw-bone of a fiſh. They, every year, attack ſome one nation or another, beſides the Spaniards, againſt whom they carry on a perpetual war. They generally kill all the men that fall into their hands; but preſerve the boys, to marry them to their daughters, ſelling to their neighbours the children born of theſe marriages. They avoid, as much as poſſible, coming to hands with the Spaniards in the plains, becauſe they have nothing to defend themſelves againſt their fire arms; but they have a hundred ſtratagems to attack them to advantage. They are ſo well mounted, that, when purſued, they ſoon reach poſts, which they can eaſily hinder the Spaniards from penetrating. When they are told that the Spaniards are coming to attack them, they coolly anſwer, "let them come; when they have eat up all their biſcuit, they muſt go as they came, to get a new ſtock."

The day a child is weaned, and the day it begins to run about with the reſt, are both holidays in the town, where the child is weaned, or begins to run about; but the return of the Pleiades, which they call the *kids*, upon the horizon, is a general holiday obſerved by the whole nation. They prepare for

for it, by ſhaking their matts, and beating their partitions. The men, then, form themſelves into one battalion, and the women into another; and fall upon each other pretty ſeriouſly. It is a diverſion, if you pleaſe, but is a diverſion fit only for barbarians. The boys and girls, likewiſe, exchange ſome cuffs, but merely for form-ſake. Theſe engagements are followed by races; and, then, both parties mutually wiſh each other an accompliſhment of all their wiſhes, and, above all things, ſucceſs againſt their enemies. The feaſt always terminates in drunkeneſs.

EVERY town mourns for the death of its Cacique, and that of his children, and neareſt relations. This ceremony conſiſts in obſerving a ſtrict continence, for a longer or ſhorter time, in proportion to the rank of the deceaſed, or the people's affection for him; in faſting, that is, in not eating fiſh, which is the thing in the world, next to wine, theſe Indians are fondeſt of; in putting on a ſorrowful countenance, and not painting either face or body. The Cacique, as often as he happens to be in mourning, changes the names of all his ſubjects. On the death of perſons of diſtinction, they immediately butcher a certain number of men and women, to bear him company in the other world; nor do they find it a difficult matter to obtain victims; there are always enough to put in for this honour. The funeral is performed with great ceremony. The body is decked out with the fineſt trinkets they can get. Thoſe of the Caciques, eſpecially, carry with them to the grave the moſt precious ornaments of the whole town. Nor is there any need of compulſion on the occaſion; all preſſing to give the deceaſed the ſincereſt proofs of reſpect and affection.

POLYGAMY is not known among the Guaycurus; but the bonds of matrimony are ſo very ſlight, that, when

when the parties do not like each other, they ſeparate without any further ceremony. In other reſpects, they do not appear to have the moſt diſtant notions of that baſhfulneſs ſo natural to the reſt of mankind: thoſe actions, which require moſt privacy, being among them performed in the face of the whole world. The girls, who prove with child before marriage, either deſtroy their burden in the womb, or lay violent hands upon it, the minute they are delivered of it, in the natural way. The condition of the women is very hard; they are treated like ſlaves, and never allowed a moment's reſpite. The girls follow the ſoldiers to the war, in order to wait upon them; and never meet with the leaſt indulgence. The huſbands never appear to give themſelves any trouble about their wives, but at their return from a campaign, when they preſent them with the ſcalps of thoſe they have ſlain, the only marks of victory they bring home along with them. The women deck themſelves out with theſe ſcalps, by way of celebrating the triumph of their huſbands, who, on their ſide, adorn their heads with feathers, and their foreheads with plates of ſilver, or ſome other metal. The women likewiſe wear collars upon the occaſion; and, then, faſten thoſe ſcalps to a poſt, about which they dance, ſinging all the time the praiſes of the conquerors.

When the Guaycurus think themſelves threatened with a ſtorm, they ſally out of their towns, the men armed with their mancanas, and the women and children howling with all their might; for, they believe, that, by ſo doing, they put to flight the devil that intended to excite it. Daily experience is not ſufficient to convince them of their miſtake; but, perhaps, they think that the devil would uſe them worſe, if they did not thus intimidate him by their cries and menaces. This is the only divinity they acknowledge, except the moon, and the conſtellation called the great bear, to which, however,

ever, it does not appear, that they pay any manner of worſhip. As they do not cultivate the ground, they live entirely on river and land game. Nothing comes amiſs to them. They eat lions, tigers, bears, and the moſt venomous ſnakes and vipers. Some people pretend, that they inure their conſtitutions to this kind of food, by the conſtant uſe they make of it from their infancy. Beſides, all the Indians of South America have very hot ſtomachs.

To return to Don Alvarez, he was now chiefly empolyed in taking proper meaſures to aſſiſt the Spaniards he had ſent, by ſea, from the iſland of St. Catherine to Buenos Ayres; and, for this purpoſe, he, at laſt, diſpatched two brigantines, loaded with all manner of civil and military ſtores, and manned by one hundred men, under the command of Don Gonzalez de Mendoza. He, then, ſent a detachment of his troops againſt the Agazez, who ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed, and loſt a great number of men, beſides fourteen priſoners, who were immediately hanged. This execution had its deſired effect. The whole nation implored the governor's mercy, and ſubmitted to all the conditions he thought proper to preſcribe, eſpecially when they heard of his having taken another meaſure, which ſpread his reputation all over the country; and rendered his name as terrible to the Indians, as it had been before dear to them.

He had received intelligence, it ſeems, that the ſon of the unfortunate Alexis Garcia was ſtill a captive among the Indians, who had killed his father, and carried off his treaſures; and thereupon ſent to beg they would return him their priſoner; but theſe barbarians butchered all his meſſengers, except one, whom they ſent back to acquaint him, that, if he dared to preſent himſelf before them, they would treat him in the ſame manner they had done his deputies. Don Alvarez, incenſed at this affront,

front, ordered his nephew Don Alphonſo Riquelmi, to pick out three hundred Spaniards, and a thouſand Indians; and march againſt theſe barbarians, and make them ſenſible, that he was not to be inſulted with impunity. Riquelmi, accordingly, ſet out; but found them upon their guard, in great numbers, and very advantageouſly poſted. He charged them, however, ſo ſuddenly, that he immediately threw them into diſorder, killed three thouſand, and made four thouſand priſoners. His victory, indeed, coſt him ſomething, for he loſt fifty of his beſt men on the occaſion.

Don Alvarez's joy for the ſucceſs of this expedition was ſoon troubled by the arrival of four brigantines from Buenos Ayres, with Eſtopinan Cabeca de Vaca, and all the Spaniards, whom the governor had ſent by ſea from the iſland of St. Catherine. Don Eſtopinan acquainted the governor, that, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, he found a letter there, ſigned by Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, and Alphonſo Cabrera, with orders to evacuate it, as the inhabitants were daily in danger of periſhing by hunger, or the arrows of the Indians. He added, that five and twenty Spaniards had taken refuge on the coaſt of Brazil; that, had the aſſiſtance brought thoſe left behind arrived but twenty-four hours later, they muſt all have inevitably periſhed, one way or another; that, his arrival having given the inhabitants ſome ſpirits, he had taken meaſures to alter the ſituation of the town, and remove all the Spaniards to the mouth of the river St. John; but, as winter came on in the mean time, and all the rivers had overflown their banks, he thought the only ſtep he could take, was to conduct to the Aſſumption all his men, and all the remaining inhabitants.

Mendoza, who, as we juſt now ſaid, had but juſt ſet out for the relief of Buenos Ayres, had been ſtill

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more unfortunate, and run much greater risks. One of his vessels loaded with provisions was wrecked, and some of the crew drowned. The ship, which carried himself, being moored close in shore to a tree, an earthquake threw the tree upon the ship, and, by that means, overset her. The rest of the brigantines suffered as much; and fourteeen persons belonging to them were drowned or crushed to death, so that it was with great difficulty Mendoza reached the Assumption, where he soon after had the mortification of being present at a much more terrible disaster.

1543. On the fourth of February, 1543, an Indian woman, servant to one of the inhabitants, carelelsly shaking her hammock, which happened to take fire, some of the sparks flew, unobserved, into the partitions of the room, which was of straw; so that, in a few minutes, the whole house was in flames. The fire soon gained all those that surrounded it; and carried by a strong wind, soon reached the rest, and consumed two hundred. Its inhabitants had no time to save any thing but their arms; their very poultry, and most of their other domestic animals having been burnt. There remained but fifty houses, separated from the rest by water. Thus most of the inhabitants saw themselves, in a moment, without cloaths, without food, without furniture, or merchandize; and exposed, withal, for want of house room, to all the injuries of the weather; but they had a great resource left in their governor. He, first, provided against the most pressing necessities, and sent to all the Indian towns, to buy provisions at his own expence. He then furnished, with equal generosity, the money requisite to supply the other wants of the inhabitants, so that all the houses, which had hitherto consisted of nothing but straw, were, with inconceivable dispatch, rebuilt of earth.

Don

Don Alvarez ſoon received ſome news, that conſoled him a little for ſuch a train of diſaſters. In the month of November, of the preceding year, he had, conformably to his inſtructions, and, with the advice of his council, formed a reſolution to remount the Paraguay as high as poſſible. He intended to have been himſelf of this expedition; but, as his preſence was become, from day to day, more neceſſary at the Aſſumption, he thought he had better let ſomebody elſe, duly qualified for ſuch an undertaking, make the firſt eſſay; and for this purpoſe caſt his eye upon his lieutenant, whom he knew to be a man of reſolution; and he was, beſides, glad of having a genteel pretext to remove from the Aſſumption. He, therefore, told him, that he did not know any one fitter for an attempt, the ſucceſs of which the emperor had greatly at heart; and gave him his word, that he would repreſent all the ſervices he might render his majeſty on the occaſion, in the moſt advantageous light.

Don Alvarez earneſtly recommended to him, if he could not get quite up to the ſource of the river, at leaſt, to puſh as near it as he poſſibly could; to take an exact account of the different nations inhabiting its banks; to ſend, from time to time, parties of Indians, with ſome Spaniards, into the inland countries, and even penetrate, if poſſible, into Peru, as he had agreed with Don Chriſtophero Vaca de Caſtro, to endeavour to eſtabliſh a communication between that kingdom and Paraguay. Irala expreſſed great ſatisfaction at theſe marks of his general's eſteem and confidence, and, being provided with three ſtout brigantines manned with ninety Spaniards, and a great number of Indians, and plentifully ſtored with proviſions of every kind, ſet out the 20th of November, 1542; and, after remounting the river two hundred and fifty leagues by eſtimation, arrived at the mouth of the lake of

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the Xarayez, where he diſcovered a port on the weſtern ſhore, and called it *King's Port*, becauſe he entered it on the Epiphany, or twelfth-day. After taking a little reſt here, he ſet forward by land towards the weſt, with all his Indians and Spaniards excepta ſufficient number, whom he left behind, to take care of the veſſels. He met on the road with ſeveral nations, who had a great deal of wrought gold and ſilver; but he could never diſcover whence they obtained it. However, he aſſured the governor at his return, that he might have eaſily penetrated that way into Peru, had he been in a better condition to awe the Indians, whom he every where met with. He even added, that thoſe in the neighbourhood of King's Port longed greatly to ſee the Spaniards and their general among them; but, perhaps, he had reaſons of his own for making this laſt part of the ſtory.

Be that as it will, ſome time after Irala's return to the Aſſumption, Riguelmi arrived there, from his expedition againſt the murderers of Alexis Garcia; and Don Alvarez, at laſt, on the report of theſe two officers, reſolved not to defer any longer taking the ſame rout his lieutenant had purſued, and even to get nearer Peru, if poſſible. He had already built ten brigantines for this voyage; and having given orders to fit them out directly, he ſent Gonzalez de Mendoza to buy proviſions, in ſome Indian towns above up the river, the country of the Guaranis; but the Indians not only refuſed to ſell him any, but expreſſed great inveteracy againſt the Spaniards; upon which, Don Alvarez ſent Irala to his aſſiſtance, with orders, however, to employ careſſes and preſents, to engage them to do with a good grace, what the Spaniards could to oblige them to do by force. This method ſucceeded; and two Caciques of theſe Indians followed Irala to the Aſſumption; did ho-

mage to the governor; and promiſed to obey, with the greateſt punctuality, all the orders he might hereafter be pleaſed to give them.

Every thing was now ready for his departure, when he received intelligence, that the two friars, whom he had brought with him from the iſland of St. Catherine, were privately ſet out from the Aſſumption, with letters to the Emperor, accuſing him of having filled the province with trouble and confuſion, by the bad uſe he made of his authority. It is likewiſe ſaid, that, in order to prevent a diſcovery of what they were about, they confined a number of Indian girls, whom they had been ordered to inſtruct; and carried them off with them. It is not known what they intended by ſo doing; but it is certain, that the Cacique of the town, whence the poor creatures had been taken, came to complain of ſo ſhameful an action to the governor; and the governor having immediately ſent after their conductors, five and thirty girls were found with them. The friars had ſent before them ſome Spaniards, who were to return with them to Spain, and a Brazilian, whom they had ſeduced from the governor's ſervice, in which he was very uſeful to the Emperor. This man, it is probable, was to be their guide to the coaſt of Brazil, towards which, it ſeems, they had directed their courſe.

The Indian girls and their treacherous conductors being brought back to the Aſſumption; ſoon after their arrival, Don Alvarez was given to underſtand, that the revenue officers were at the bottom of this villainous affair; and ſome letters, that were found upon the two friars, convinced him thoroughly of it. Upon this, therefore, he immediately ordered the criminals to be arreſted; but, though he now ſaw how much he was to blame for having ſtopped the proſecution, he had ordered

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to be commenced againſt them the preceding year; and ſtill more, for having releaſed them from their confinement, his natural goodneſs again got the better of his juſtice, and blinded him to ſuch a degree, as to prevent his reflecting, that there are certain crimes, which it is dangerous to puniſh by halves. However, he did leſs than half puniſh them, for he ordered them all to be ſet at liberty, on giving ſecurity for their good behaviour for the future. He, it is probable, feared, leaſt the ſlowneſs of a judicial proſecution againſt them might delay too long his intended expedition up the river. However, he parted them, by taking along with him the Factor, Peter de Orantez, and the treaſurer, Philip Caceres. He then appointed Don Juan de Salazar to command, during his abſence, at the Aſſumption; his lieutenant, it it is probable, being engaged elſewhere; and on the day of the Nativity of the bleſſed Virgin, whoſe church, conſumed in the late conflagation, he had juſt rebuilt at his own expence, and had even helped to erect as a common workman, he took ſhipping with two hundred Spaniards, after having recommended, above all things, to Salazar, to have ready, againſt his return, a brigantine he had ordered to be built, with a view of ſending her to Spain, with diſpatches to the Emperor.

Don Alvarez was followed by twelve hundred of the braveſt Guarani warriors in canoes; but his engaging manners ſeemed to render ſo much precaution needleſs. He made ſuch conſiderable preſents to all the Indians, in the towns he paſſed by, on both ſides of the river, that they vowed perpetual friendſhip to the Spaniards, and religiouſly kept their promiſe. He otdered the two revenue officers to travel by land, with two hundred Spaniards more, and an equal number of Indians, and wait for him at Candlemas port; but Caceres, having

ing loſt his horſe the very firſt day, obtained leave to return home, and ſend his ſon in his ſtead. The 12th, the fleet entered Candlemas port, which, by an obſervation of the ſun, was found to be in the latitude of 22 degrees and 40 minutes.

THE day following, ſeven Payaguas appeared on the banks of the river, and made ſigns to expreſs their deſire of ſpeaking with the Spaniards. Don Alvarez, upon this, ſent aſhore to them ſeven Spaniards, with a Guarani, who, having been a ſlave among the Payaguas, could ſpeak their language very fluently. The Payaguas aſked the Spaniards, if they were the ſame that ſo often went up and down the river, and being anſwered in the affirmative, one of the Payaguas told them he would be glad to ſpeak with their commander. He was, accordingly, conducted to Don Alvarez, who having aſked him what he wanted, he anſwered, that his Cacique would be very glad to enter into an alliance with him; that he had ſtill by him all the treaſure he had carried off from the great captain Ayolas; and that he was ready to reſtore it, if the governor would but pardon the treachery he had been guilty of.

DON ALVAREZ having aſked him in what the treaſure conſiſted, he anſwered, in as much gold and ſilver, in bracelets, crowns, and other ornaments, as ſixty ſix Indians could carry. Upon this, Don Alvarez deſired the Indian to aſſure his Cacique, that he was come into the country, by order of the Emperor, to pacify all the nations that inhabited it; pardon paſt offences; offer his protection to ſuch of the natives, as were willing to declare themſelves his vaſſals, and live upon good terms with his ſubjects; and that, if his Cacique was diſpoſed to accept theſe conditions, he might come to ſee him in the greateſt ſafety, and ſhould have all the reaſon in the world to be well pleaſed with his reception.

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He then gave the meſſenger ſome preſents for his Cacique, and ſome for himſelf, and aſked him when he might expect to ſee him again, and his Cacique. The Payagua anſwered, the day following; and was then reconducted to the place where he had been taken up.

Some days, however, having paſt, without the governor's hearing any thing of either of them; his Guarani interpreter, to whom he expreſſed his ſurprize at it, told him, he imagined it would be to no purpoſe, to wait for them any longer; that there was not a more ſuſpicious or treacherous nation on the face of the earth, than the Payaguas; that all the Cacique aimed at by this meſſage, was to gain time and amuſe him; that, in his opinion, he would do well to purſue them; that, as they were heavily loaded, it would be no difficult matter to come up with them; that, to judge by what he knew of the country, they would not halt, till they arrived at a lake well ſtored with fiſh, in the centre of a very fine country; and which had been well peopled, before the Payaguas had murdered its inhabitants. Don Alvarez took the Guarani's advice, and cauſed himſelf to be put aſhore, with great part of his troops, at the mouth of a river, by which the lake empties itſelf into the Paraguay. Before he could reach this river, he obſerved a pretty numerous body of Indians, who, his interpreter informed him, were the Payaguas endeavouring to make their eſcape; but, though he followed, for eight days together, the courſe of this river, and made the tour of the lake from whence it iſſues, he could meet with none of them; and, therefore, judging that it would be to no purpoſe, to proceed further in queſt of ſuch a roving, unſettled people, he made the beſt of his way back to Candlemas port.

Here Don Alvarez embarked again, leaving behind him Mendoza, with inſtructions, which probably regarded the Payaguas. The banks of the river in this place are covered with different kinds of fruit trees, particularly the caſſia tree. A little higher, it is rendered exceedingly rapid by two rocks, which, projecting from the oppoſite ſhores, greatly ſtreighten the channel. The Spaniards caught here great plenty of Goldenies, ſome weighing fifteen pounds. The fleſh of this fiſh is both very wholſome, and very well taſted. It is even pretended, that the water, in which it has been boiled, is a ſovereign remedy againſt the itch, and the leproſy. Mendoza now rejoined the governor, who, having diſcovered a great ſtir among the Indians, alarmed, no doubt, at the ſight of ſo numerous a fleet, ordered him to quiet them. He himſelf entered into a conference with the *Guaroropos*, and made them promiſe not to moleſt ſuch of his people, as he might leave behind; but theſe barbarians broke their word, which, however, Fernandez pretends his countrymen gave them ſufficient provocations not to keep.

In this latitude, the river overflows to ſuch a degree, when the ſun has reached the tropic, that it lays under water more than an hundred leagues of country on both ſides; ſo that, according to the author juſt now cited, canoes paſs freely over the higheſt trees. Theſe inundations laſt four months; the waters begin to fall towards the end of March; and leave behind them a prodigious quantity of fiſh, which, by putrefying, infect the air, and render the country very ſickly; but when the waters are quite dried up, the Indians repair, in great numbers, to the river; live upon the fiſh with which it abounds, and ſpend their whole time in mirth and diverſion.

Don

Don Alvarez, who found them there, would not permit any of his people to have any dealings with them, though he received with great kindneſs ſeveral of them who came to wait upon him and even made them ſome preſents. The 25th of October, he arrived at a place, where the river divided, to the left, into three branches, the middlemoſt reſembling a great lake, which, a little higher up, unite again. A little higher up, and on the ſame ſide, is another river, formed by a great many ſtreams, which, by their inoſculations, compoſe a labyrinth, out of which the Indians of the country find it no eaſy matter to extricate themſelves. This river they call *Iguatu*, which ſignifies *good water*. Don Alvarez entered it, after planting croſſes to let thoſe who followed him know the rout he had taken. The 8th of November, having aſcended and deſcended all theſe rivers, he returned to the Paraguay, and found himſelf oppoſite ſeveral bald and lofty mountains, of a reddiſh colour, in the form of bells; where he was informed, a kind of white metal was to be found. Between this and King's Port, the river was ſo low, that his men were obliged to get into the water, and, by force of arms, help the brigantines over ſome ſhallows, about a croſs-bow-ſhot in length.

The governor, on entering the port, found there before him, a great number of Indians, who impatiently waited his arrival, and received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. On his ſide, he treated them with the greateſt kindneſs; and, being informed that they adored idols, a thing that had not as yet been obſerved, among any of the other nations of this continent, he earneſtly exhorted the ſecular and regular clergy, who accompanied him in this expedition, to omit nothing to open their eyes, and bring them over to the knowledge of the true God. He even ſpoke to them,

himſelf, of the weakneſs of theſe dumb and blind divinities; and at laſt prevailed on them, to give up theſe objects of their worſhip to the flames; notwithſtanding the great apprehenſions they at firſt ſeemed to be under, leſt the devils ſhould puniſh them ſeverely for it. This done, Don Alvarez cauſed a croſs to be erected, and built a chapel, where maſs was ſung with great ſolemnity, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of the Indians. After this ceremony, he took poſſeſſion of the whole country, for the crown of Spain; and, perhaps, there is not any in all this vaſt province, in which it was more the intereſt of the Spaniards to make a ſolid eſtabliſhment, and which, notwithſtanding, they have more neglected, as will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory. Don Alvarez having by this perceived, that the Indians took offence at the Spaniards penetrating into their towns, forbid, it directly, under the ſevereſt penalties.

These Indians cultivate the earth; grow ſeveral kinds of excellent fruit, manioc and maiz, of which laſt, they make the earth yield them two crops a year. Fiſhing, fowling, and hunting are another great reſource. They likewiſe breed geeſe, and cocks and hens, though not entirely for the ſake of their fleſh; for they make uſe of the firſt to rid themſelves of graſshoppers, whoſe chirping, it is probable, they do not like; and the latter, by having them at night, to ſecure themſelves from the attacks of a certain ſpecies of large bats, the ſame, perhaps, we have before mentioned. Theſe bats are a very dangerous creature, as Don Alvarez himſelf experienced to his coſt. One night, as he lay ſleeping in his brigantine, with one of his feet uncovered, one of theſe birds, not only bit the tip of his great toe, but ſtript the under part of it entirely of the ſkin, without awakening him; ſo that, before he awoke, his bed was full of blood.

blood. But it is upon the ears of horſes, and the dugs of newly littered ſows, which they firſt ſuck, and then gnaw to the very roots, that theſe terrible birds principally faſten. The horſes know them, ſo that, on their getting into a ſtable, the poor creatures in it, become downright furious. Fernandez, who relates theſe facts, has forgot to tell us in what manner the cocks and hens free the Indians from theſe troubleſome animals.

NEITHER this author, nor Herrera have taken the trouble to acquaint us exactly with the ſituation of King's Port; and it is merely by induction, and by following Don Alvarez in the rout he took to enter it, that we may, without apprehending any miſtake, place it at the entrance into the lake of the Xarayes, on its weſtern ſhore, and oppoſite to the iſland of the Orejones; and this is the ſituation already given to it by the famous William de Lille, the only geographer I know, who has mentioned it in his maps; for the Spaniſh geographers have, all, omitted it. The journals of thoſe, who have ſince attempted to penetrate from Paraguay into Peru, put the thing out of queſtion. Father del Techo makes the length of the iſland in this lake, thirty miles; and its greateſt breadth, fifteen.

THIS iſland, it is ſaid, derives its name from that of a Peruvian nation, called *Orejones*, becauſe they bore their ears; many of whom, it is pretended, took refuge here at the conqueſt of Peru; and it is probable, that the Spaniards under Don Alvarez were the firſt to give it the name of the *Iſland of Paradiſe*. If what all the memoirs I have peruſed ſay of it, is true, it is very well intitled to that appellation; for, though ſituated in the torrid zone, between the fifteenth and ſixteenth degrees of latitude, it enjoys the moſt temperate weather all the year round; owing to the winds which blow there conſtantly every day at regular hours, and a great

great number of rivulets, with which it is watered. Its fields produce, without culture, the moſt excellent fruits; and the difference between the ſeaſons being ſcarce ſenſible, every month is equally fit to ſow or reap in. The diſpoſitions of the inhabitants greatly reſemble the air they breathe. They they do not culvate the vine, but make a very wholſome and agreeable liquor with their honey. Here is, likewiſe, the greateſt plenty of every kind of game, both fiſh, fowl, and four footed animals. All theſe advantages, joined to the conſideration of its lying but a league from King's Port, engaged the Spaniards to requeſt their governor to form an eſtabliſhment there.

Not to ſpeak of the beauty of this place, and the mildneſs of its climate, there were, one would imagine, many other reaſons ſufficient to determine Don Alvarez to fortify it and leave a garriſon behind him to defend it. It was the beſt ſtep he could take to eſtabliſh a correſpondence betwen Paraguay and Peru, which he had ſo much at heart, ; and we ſhall ſee hereafter, how much the court of Spain has ſuffered, even in Paraguay, by having neglected ſo important a poſt. Don Alvarez had too much ſenſe, not to ſee, himſelf, the neceſſity there was to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it; but he had no more men along with him, than what were abſolutely neceſſary to continue the diſcoveries, with which he had been charged; and he could draw no more from the Aſſumption. Beſides, he could not foreſee thoſe events, which afterwards prevented his taking all the ſteps the ſervice of the Emperor, and the good of his province required. But, be that as it will, the ſoldiers, the veterans eſpecially, murmured greatly at his preparations to quit theſe charming places: "To what purpoſe," they publickly exclaimed, "are we to remain always in ſavage countries, waſte ourſelves

ſelves with fatigue, and be perpetually running from one danger into another, without having any thing we can call our own. What do we look for in deſarts, in mountains, and in countries covered with water, where none but Cannibals are to be met with; and, while we can ſee nothing but our countrymen daily periſhing by ſickneſs and the arrows of barbarians, what can we expect but the ſame fate? Let us learn to be wiſe at their expence; and, without going further in queſt of chimerical treaſures, which ſeem to fly us in proportion as we purſue them, let us ſeize upon the happineſs, with which providence now preſents us; of what ſervice could the gold, with which we are amuſed, be to us; what can we hope to purchaſe with it, better than what we actually poſſeſs?"

A GREAT many others, however, were of opinion, not to renounce the hopes of meeting with mines, or diſcovering a road to Peru, though they allowed it was proper to make an eſtabliſhment at King's-Port, to ſerve a an Entrepot, and facilitate the communication between the two kingdoms. All, therefore, unanimouſly united to prevail on the governor to conſent to this eſtabliſhment, and the oldeſt ſpoke, in the name of the reſt. But Don Alvarez, not a little provoked at their earneſtneſs, anſwered them in the following words. "Are theſe men Spaniards," ſaid he, "whom I hear ſpeak in this manner? Have we left Spain, and travelled ſo far, in ſearch of land, and there to ſpend our days obſcurely in idleneſs and luxury? we might have done all this, without leaving our own country. Methinks I ſee a parcel of children, who, for the ſake of a few apples, neglect treaſures, whoſe value they are not acquainted with. The Emperor, our maſter, has ſent us into this new world, to conquer empires for

for him, and ſecure to him the poſſeſſion of the riches they contain; were we to loſe our lives, or ſpend our days in fatigues much greater than thoſe we have already gone through, both duty and honour oblige us to juſtify the confidence this great prince has repoſed in us. I know the extent of your obligations, as well as my own; I ought to ſhew you good example; and you will follow it, if you deſerve the name you boaſt of."

Soon after this, Mendoza arrived with the reſt of the fleet, and informed the governor, that the Guaroropos, with whom he flattered himſelf he had made a laſting alliance, had attacked the brigantine commanded by captain Auguſtin de Campos; that five Spaniards had been killed at the firſt onſet; and Juan de Bolanos drowned, in attempting to make his eſcape by ſwimming; that theſe traitors had afterwards ſet out to prevail on the Indians in the neighbourhood of King's Port, to join them againſt the Chriſtians, who, they affirmed, had neither ſtrength nor courage enough to reſiſt them; and that there was great reaſon to dread a general conſpiracy of all theſe nations. Don Alvarez, at the ſame time, received intelligence by Hector d'Acuna and Anthony Correa, whom he had ſent with ten or twelve ſoldiers, to invite the Xarayes, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him; that, after traverſing ſome overflown countries, where they ſuffered a great deal for want of proviſions, they at laſt joined a party of theſe Indians, whom their Cacique had ſent to meet them with refreſhments; that, after traveling a little further, they found upwards of five hundred more, decked out, in their way, with the moſt beautiful feathers, who were likewiſe come out to meet them, and conducted them to their town, where their Cacique gave them a very friendly reception, and acquainted them, by the mouth of

of a Guarani interpreter, that he would be very glad to ſee their general, of whom he had heard a great many fine things; that, upon this, they aſſured him, they were come from their general to declare to him, that he was willing to be his friend, and that of all his nation; that the Cacique replied, that nothing would give him greater pleaſure; that he could not give their general any great information concerning the country he intended to traverſe; but could ſupply him with an interpreter who had travelled a great deal that way, and might be of conſiderable ſervice to him.

These Xarayes were ſettled at ſome diſtance from the lake of the ſame name; but there are others who live conſtantly on its banks, or greatly frequent them; they have been always extremely attached to the Spaniards; are a very good kind of people; cultivate the earth; and have grain and cotton in abundance. Don Alvarez received the Cacique's offers very graciouſly; and, leaving his brigantines to the care of one hundred Spaniards under John de Romero, ſet out on his march weſtwards. After five days march, during which there was no travelling but by cutting a paſſage through woods and buſhes, he reached the banks of a river, whoſe water was, at the ſame time, very warm and very tranſparent.

Thus, Don Alvarez was but little the better for his guide; for, though ſeveral nations ſent deputies to wait on him with compliments and proviſions; and he always very generouſlypaid for the latter; others of them attempted to oppoſe his paſſage; but he ſoon brought them to reaſon. He had now travelled a great way, when he was informed by his ſcouts, that there had juſt ſallied out of a town, at no great diſtance, five thouſand men, very well armed, who ſeemed diſpoſed to attack him; and, in fact, he had ſcarce time

time to prepare for their reception, when they arrived within ſight in order of battle. But, at the martial appearance of Don Alvarez's forces, they immediately diſperſed, leaving their town to the diſcretion of the Spaniards, who immediately entered it, and found it to conſiſt of eight thouſand cabins, in the center of which ſtood a tower terminating in a pyramid, built with large pieces of timber and covered, from top to bottom, with palm tree bark.

This was the temple and reſidence of a monſtrous ſerpent, whom the inhabitants had choſen for their divinity, and fed with human fleſh. He was as thick as an ox, and ſeven and twenty feet long, with a very large head, and very fiery though ſmall eyes. His jaws, when extended, diſplayed two ranks of crooked fangs. The whole body, except the tail which was ſmooth, was covered with round ſcales of a great thickneſs. The Spaniards, though they could not be perſuaded by the Indians that this monſter delivered oracles, were exceedingly terrified at the firſt ſight of him; and their terror greatly increaſed, when, on one of them having fired a blunderbuſs at him, he gave a roar like that of a lion, and with a ſtroke of his tail ſhook the whole tower. However, they found it no hard matter to make an end of him; and then, as if this exploit, and the taking of a defenceleſs town, had exhauſted all their courage, moſt of them declared, that they could proceed no further.

Don Alvarez, who now thought himſelf at no great diſtance from Peru, was pretty much embaraſſed what courſe to take; and, therefore, thought proper to call a council, before he attempted to revive the courage of his ſoldiers. The council were unanimous for his marching back, and he yielded to their advice ſo much the more readily,

readily, as the misbehaviour of the revenue officers contributed as much to discourage the soldiers, as the fatigues of the voyage and the uncertainty of its success. The soldiers had got some plunder in the town they were now in possession of, and these gentlemen levied the fifth of it for the Emperor. They even pretended that all manner of game was subject to the same duty. The governor produced his instructions, in which his Majesty gave up this right; and, as the officers still insisted on it, he told them, that, if they should ever be called to an account for having been too indulgent on the occasion, he would indemnify the royal treasury at his own expence. But he found it impossible to contain them for any time, or some other malecontents, whose numbers were considerably encreased by the exact discipline he made all, without exception, observe; and, therefore, gave orders for an immediate retreat.

At his arrival at King's-port, he heard, that most of the neighbouring Indians, and even the Orejones, had conspired to fall upon the Spaniards and their allies the Guaranis, to whom, it now appeared, they never brought any provisions, but with a view of examining their situation and motions; several had, even openly, declared themselves, especially the Guaroropos, who had invited some other nations to join them in order to extirpate these new comers. Upon this, Don Alvarez sent for the Indian chiefs; put them in mind of the treaty he had concluded with them; asked them if he had not paid for all the provisions they had brought in, and always added some presents to the price of them; adding withal, that, if after all this kind usage they should forget themselves so far as to attempt any thing against him, he was strong enough to make them repent it. This resolute though mild declaration, had so far its effect,

effect, that they all promiſed whatever he required; after which he diſmiſſed them loaded with preſents.

But they kept their word very ill; for, in a ſhort time after, there ſcarce remained ten or twelve days proviſions in the camp. Some Indians, upon this, aſſured the governor, that, at nine leagues from King's-port, there were ſome nations, who had proviſions in plenty. He, therefore, ſent Mendoza eſcorted by a ſtrong party, to them with orders to tell them, that he had heard a great deal of good of them, and was, therefore, ſurprized they had not as yet ſent deputies to make an alliance with him, and put themſelves, after the example of ſo many other nations, under the Emperor's protection. Mendoza was then to call for ſome proviſions, and offer more than the value for them; and, if, after ſeveral ſummons, they refuſed to comply, employ force; but yet do it with the greateſt moderation and circumſpection poſſible.

In the mean time, the Orejones, whoſe friendſhip Don Alvarez found it no difficult matter to recover, informed him, that, by aſcending the *Iguatu*, he ſhould meet with very rich and numerous nations, who would put him in the way of making ſeveral important diſcoveries. Upon this, he diſpatched fifty two of his beſt men under the command of captain Fernandez de Ribera, with orders to take an exact account of all the particulars he might learn; to omit nothing to gain the good will of the inhabitants; and, for that purpoſe, not to be ſparing of preſents, with which he abundantly ſupplied him.

Some time after the departure of this captain, the governor received a letter from Mendoza, that all the inhabitants of the country, where he had ſent him, were enraged againſt the Spaniards, and firmly reſolved not to ſuffer them in the country;

try; that he had been attacked by a great number of theſe barbarians, and muſt have fallen a victim to their fury with his whole detachment, had he not ordered ſome blunderbuſſes to be diſcharged at them, by which two were killed, and the reſt ſo terrified, that they immediately fled to the mountains; that, after their retreat, he had entered their towns, where he found a great deal of proviſions, which he ſent them word he was ready to pay as much for, as they themſelves thought proper to require; but that, inſtead of liſtening to reaſon, they returned in greater numbers; ſet fire to their houſes, and even ſent to invite their neighbours to their aſſiſtance. In anſwer to this letter, Don Alvarez ordered Mendoza to omit nothing to make them liſten to reaſon; and, if he ſaw no proſpect of ſucceſs, to go ſomewhere elſe in queſt of proviſions. To this, Mendoza replied, that theſe people were become from day to day more intractable, and that the Guararopos were already come to their aſſiſtance.

1544. The twenty fourth of January, of the following year, Francis de Ribera arrived at Kings-port with his guide, the ſix Spaniards, and three out of the eleven Guaranis, the governor had ſent along with him. Don Alvarez was overjoyed to ſee him, as the other eight Guaranis, who had fled backin a panic, to the camp, had given him to underſtand, that the reſt of the party had been all cut to pieces. Ribera reported, that, at firſt, he marched for the ſpace of twenty days, to the weſt, by ſuch bad roads, that he ſometimes could not make above half a league a day; that he never came ſhort of fowl, hogs, and antas, which the Indians killed with their arrows, and ſometimes even with ſticks; that he likewiſe found a great deal of honey in the hollows of trees, and every where plenty of

wild fruits; that, about the twentieth day he arrived on the banks of a river, where he caught ſome ſhads of an exquiſite taſte; that, after croſſing this river, he met with an Indian, who wore a chin-piece of ſilver, and ear-rings of gold; that, having ſhown the man who came out to meet him, a braſs candleſtick, and aſked him if there was any ſuch metal in his country, he anſwered, that there was ſome of the ſame colour, but much more beautiful, and which, beſides, did not ſtink like his; that having then produced a plate of tin, the Indian told him, that his white metal, likewiſe, was much finer; that they made of it crowns, bracelets, plates, and pails, and ſeveral other utenſils; that, this man, taking him by the hand, and making ſigns to him to follow him, he ſoon after ſpied a large houſe, from whence they were removing a great deal of cotton clothes, and ſeveral pieces of furniture, among which he perceived bracelets, hatchets, and ſeveral things of that kind, all made of ſilver; that he was very well received in this houſe, which proved to be that of his conductor, who ordered his gueſts to be ſerved with wine made of maiz; that the ſlaves, who attended them, gave them to underſtand, that there were other Indians in the neighbourhood, called *Payzunoez*, and among them were ſome chriſtians, the only name theſe Indians give the Spaniards; that there appeared, the next moment, ſome men painted all over, and armed with bows and arrows; that the maſter of the houſe took up arms on their arrival; that the Spaniards obſerving a great deal of buſtle among them, concluded their lives to be in danger; that, upon this, he ordered his men to go out; and, on pretence of going to look for more Spaniards, make their retreat the ſame way they had advanced; that he and his men had ſcarce left the houſe, when

when upwards of three hundred Indians appeared with a very threatening air, which determined him to make, with all his men, the beſt of his way to a mountain in the neighbourhood; that the barbarians purſued them, ſo that it was with great difficulty they gained the mountain, moſt of them having been wounded in the retreat; that, the barbarians, however, purſued them no further, for fear, he ſuppoſed, of meeting with more Spaniards; that by this means they got time to recover the road by which they had arrived, which the eight Guaranis, who arrived before them, had probably recovered at the firſt alarm.

It has been ſince diſcovered, that theſe Indians, called by Herrera *Taropeaciez*, were no enemies to the Spaniards; but, on the contrary, a very peaceable people, and very hoſpitable to all ſtrangers paſſing through their country, to whom they are very liberal of gold, ſilver, and proviſions; but that the ſight of the Guaranis had exaſperated them, as theſe Indians had formerly committed great ravages, and killed a great many perſons, in theſe diſtricts.

In the mean time, almoſt all the Spaniards, now united at Kings-port, were fallen ſick, owing, it was imagined, to the great inundations which rendered the waters very muddy and unwholeſome. The Indians, therefore, no longer kept any meaſures with them; ſurprized ſome that had wandered to too great a diſtance from the camp; and then killed and devoured them. Don Alvarez, who likewiſe began to be greatly out of order, recalled Mendoza, who informed him, that all his ſoldiers were ill of the fever, and that he would embark with them, as ſoon as he could gather proviſions enough; a thing he found from day to day more difficult to accompliſh. Upon this, the governor exerted himſelf to ſend Mendoza a

reinforcement, which at length enabled him to compel the Indians to ſell him, at leaſt, proviſions enough for his return.

The thirtieth, Fernandez de Ribera arrived likewiſe at Kings-port; but finding the governor indiſpoſed, and hearing beſides, that he was upon the point of ſetting out on his return to the Aſſumption, he thought he had better wait till their arrival there, to give him an account of his diſcoveries. Don Alvarez, however, had not as yet renounced all thoughts of purſuing thoſe he had begun himſelf; but, beſides the ſickneſs, which daily encreaſed, the Paraguay and other rivers in the neighbourhood had overflowed to ſuch a degree, that the whole country looked like one great ſea, the low ands being covered with water to the depth of five fathoms. The Indians informed him, that theſe inundations generally laſt four months, and are commonly followed by an infection in the air, occaſioned by the great quantity of fiſh the waters leave behind them, to putrefy by the great heat of the ſun. They added, that thoſe who did not take care to lay in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions againſt this ſeaſon, were often reduced to ſo great a degree of want, that the ſtrongeſt killed the weakeſt to ſupport nature by feeding on their carcaſes.

The governor was very far from being in a condition to wait for the fall of the waters; and, beſides, conſidered, that, did he defer ever ſo ſhort a time returning to the Aſſumption, ſickneſs would infallibly carry off all the ſoldiers he had ſtill left; he was even ſo bad himſelf, that his life was thought to be in no ſmall danger. He, therefore, aſſembled his council, to deliberate with them upon the courſe propereſt to be taken in theſe conjunctures; and all agreed to embark without any further delay. Upon this, he immediately ſent notice to all the

Indians,

Indians, who had given hoſtages to him as a ſecurity for their fidelity, to come and withdraw them; and, to hinder the Spaniards from murmuring at this ſtep, he produced an order from the Emperor, not to carry off himſelf, or permit others to carry off the Indians by force out of their country.

These orders gave ſuch offence to the Spaniards, that the governor's firmneſs in cauſing them to be directly obeyed, contributed not a little to increaſe the number of his enemies, which were already but too numerous. The revenue officers had, for a long time paſt, conſpired his deſtruction, and taken the ſureſt meaſure to ſecure ſucceſs to their wicked deſigns. The diſcontent among the troops, who had followed him in his laſt voyage, and with which they flattered themſelves they ſhould ſoon ſee the reſt infected, appeared to them a lucky incident to remove one of the greateſt obſtacles they had to ſurmount. Be that as it will, Don Alvarez embarked very much out of order, having ſcarce a ſingle man left, capable of working his veſſels, and much leſs of defending them, if warmly attacked. The Indians, who were no ſtrangers to his weakneſs, purſued him for ſome days; but being fired upon, when they drew too near, they let him reach the Aſſumption, where he arrived the 8th of April, 1544, without loſing, in ſo long a voyage, but a ſingle Spaniard, called Miranda, who, being on a kind of raft, was wounded with an arrow by the Guararopos, and killed on the ſpot.

On his arrival, he found Salazar, who commanded during his abſence, very buſy in making preparations to extirpate the Agazes, who had done nothing ſince his departure but plunder the country ſeats of the Spaniards, and the towns of the Guaranis; and butcher all thoſe that were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. But, as

the caraval was ready, which the governor had ordered to be built at his ſetting out, and he was reſolved to go on board it the moment his health would permit him; and, beſides, the diſpoſition, in which he muſt know ſeveral perſons were in regard to him, made him every moment apprehend a domeſtic war, he thought it would be imprudent to embark during a foreign one; and, therefore, deferred the chaſtiſement of the Agazes to another opportunity.

Don Alvarez, after all, did not as yet comprehend the greatneſs of the danger, with which he was threatened; perhaps he relied ſo much on his own innocence and virtue, for protection againſt the wicked deſigns of his enemies, that he took no care to check their fury, and ſtop its progreſs; or knew too little of the motives of their inveteracy againſt him. It was well known, that he ſtill intended to re-eſtabliſh Buenos Ayres; and thoſe, who had ſeized upon all authority during his abſence, ſo as to leave nothing but the ſhadow of it to his delegate, were reſolved to do all that lay in their power, to render abortive any meaſures he might take for that purpoſe. It is, in a manner, certain, that they had reſolved to render themſelves independent of the court; and, to accompliſh their deſigns, it was abſolutely neceſſary, they ſhould firſt rid themſelves of the only man, who could ſucceſsfully oppoſe them. Be that as it will, there is not, perhaps, a more ſignal proof of the ſpecial protection of heaven on the virtuous Don Alvarez, than his enemies not having taken the ſhorteſt and ſureſt method to put him out of the way. This would have coſt them but a ſingle crime, whereas the method they purſued, was no better than a tiſſue of fraud and villainy, of which they could not expect to avoid the puniſhment, but by an open rebellion, the ſucceſs of which muſt be very uncertain.

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As they could not but know, that the bulk of the inhabitants, and the ſoundeſt part of the army were extremely attached to him, they began by ſpreading a report, that he had formed a deſign of enriching all thoſe who had followed him to the Indies, at the expence of the private perſons in beſt circumſtances, whom he had found there; and gave notice, under hand, to all ſuch perſons, that they were firmly reſolved to oppoſe, effectually, ſo unjuſt a proceeding; to prevent which it was abſolutely neceſſary to put the governor under an arreſt. The anſwer to this propoſal was, that before taking ſuch a ſtep, it would be proper to repreſent to him the injuſtice and bad policy of what he intended, as there was all the reaſon in the world to hope, he would pay due regard to ſuch repreſentations. The force of this argument, the officers of the revenue craftily eluded, by ſaying, that knew they him too well to think ſo; that it would be highly improper to let him know hat this project had taken wind; and that there was no other way left, to avoid the evils with which they were threatened, but to ſeize on his perſon, as he would be the readier to liſten to their complaints, and redreſs their grievances; that they would, therefore, do well to hold themſelves in conſtant readineſs, till they received notice what to do; and that the preſervation of the country, to the Emperor, depended on their good behaviour. The revenue officers then aſſigned the other malcontents two places, where they were to repair, privately armed, at the firſt notice of the bell for repeating the angelical ſalutation.

This plan was executed without the leaſt buſtle in the city; and, at the hour appointed, Cacerez Cabreras and Garcias Venegas entered the houſe of the governor, then confined to his bed by a fever; and, crying out, "liberty, liberty, long live the Emperor," which was the ſignal agreed upon,

they proceeded to his apartment, where they were immediately admitted by one of his ſervants, called Pedro de Onaté, whom they had gained over. They then introduced Franciſco de Mendoza, James Reſquin Solarzano, and the Portugueſe Interpreter, called Diego de Acoſta. Reſquin immediately made up to the ſick man's bed, and applied to his breaſt a bent croſs-bow, charged with a poiſonous inſtrument of deſtruction, in form of a harpoon. Two other ruffians drew him out of bed, with nothing but his ſhirt on, crying out, "liberty;" calling him tyrant; and telling him they would make him pay ſeverely for all the miſchief he had done, and intended to do. In this manner they hurried him out of his houſe, Reſquin ſtill holding the bent croſs bow to his breaſt, to hinder him from ſpeaking.

At the ſight of ſo much inſolence and cruelty, even thoſe, whom the principal malcontents had engaged to take up arms, began to exclaim againſt their behaviour, and only raiſed their voices the higher, on the others endeavouring to ſilence them; till, at laſt, others joining in their reſentment of the indecent manner in which the governor was treated, they, from words, proceeded to blows, which terminated in bloodſhed. The Alguazil, Don Francis de Peralba, and the Alcalde Major, Don John Pavon, attempted to diſcharge their duty on the occaſion; but they were immediately ſtript of their charges. During the tumult, Don Alvarez had been removed to the houſe of Venegas; and, the other revenue officers having diſperſed the multitude, who were crying out, with all their might, to have their governor reſtored to them, entered the room where he was laid down, and put irons on his legs. They then repaired to the houſe of Peter Fernandez, who was both notary to the king, and ſecretary to Don Alvarez, and was likewiſe greatly indiſpoſed; carried off all the papers

they

they found in his poſſeſſion; and conducted him priſoner, along with Barthelmi Gonzalez, to the houſe of the King's lieutenant. A proclamation was then publiſhed in the name of the revenue officers, forbidding all perſons, already in their houſes, to appear abroad, on pain of death; at the ſame time, that their ſatellites took care to clear the ſtreets of all thoſe they found in them, forcing ſome home, and others, who had moſt openly taken the governor's part, into the publick priſons, out of which all the criminals were removed, to make room for them. This done, the officers of the revenue repaired to the governor's houſe; ſeized upon all his papers, his commiſſions, the writings belonging to the proceedings that had been heretofore ſet on foot againſt themſelves; in a word, all his effects, which they depoſited with perſons on whom they imagined they could depend. They then crowned their work by ſeizing on all the brigantines, and the caravel Don Alvarez had cauſed to be built at his own expence.

The day following, they publiſhed, by beat of drum, an order for the inhabitants to meet the next day, before the houſe of the King's lieutenant, Don Domingo Martinez de Irala; and, when the inhabitants were all aſſembled, made their appearance themſelves, with a multitude of armed men; and cauſed the publick crier to read, with a loud voice, a paper importing, that they had cauſed Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeca de Vaca to be put under arreſt, in conſequence of their having received certain intelligence, that he had formed a deſign of ſtripping the richeſt inhabitants of their effects, in order to provide for his creatures, and of eſtabliſhing an arbitrary and tyrannical government upon the ruins of lawful authority. Nothing can be more inconſtant, and eaſy to ſeduce, than the multitude; and, accordingly, the publication of this piece was followed by an almoſt general applauſe. The officers of the

the revenue, who, at firſt, had been conſidered as rebels, were now acknowledged in quality of reſtorers of the publick liberty; and took advantage of the good humour of the people, to acquaint them, that the King's lieutenant was to command in the city, with the ſame authority the governor had done, till his majeſty's further intentions ſhould be known. This ſtep confirmed many perſons in their opinion, that Irala had been, under hand, the ſoul of all this intrigue; eſpecially as one in his place ſhould have oppoſed ſuch diſorders; or, at leaſt, refuſed from the hands of rebels, an authority they had no right to diſpoſe of. His friend, Pedro Diaz del Valle, was at the ſame time declared Alcalde major.

The chiefs of the rebellion then publiſhed, that they would immediately continue the diſcoveries, which Don Alvarez had but juſt begun. In this they had two views; the firſt was to ſend out of the way all thoſe, eſpecially of the military, from whom they had any thing to apprehend in favour of their priſoner; the ſecond, to amaſs a great deal of gold and ſilver, of which the late expedition of Don Alvarez had afforded them the proſpect, in hopes the ſight of it might induce the Emperor to approve their proceedings. But they ſoon found, that, though it may be an eaſy matter to impoſe, for ſome time, on the multitude, it is, on account of their inconſtancy, equally difficult to intereſt them ſo far in the purſuit of any unjuſt meaſures, as to make them ſtifle that natural ſenſe of equity, ſo remarkable in them; and which always affords ſo good an opportunity of bringing them back to their duty. Thoſe of the Aſſumption had even already begun to perceive their miſtake; and were moſt of them ſeized with ſuch a panic, at the thoughts of this new voyage, that nothing was to be heard, but the confuſed buzz of people crying out for their lawful governor.

To

To prevent the conſequences of the people coming to themſelves again, the conſpirators ſent ſome of Don Alvarez's moſt zealous advocates to priſon; and placed guards at the gates of the churches, to hinder the reſt, who had taken refuge there, from making their eſcape. They, likewiſe, placed guards at all the avenues to Venegas's houſe, where the governor was confined; and doubled his other guards. But this ſeverity ſerved only to exaſperate the ſoldiery, and the populace; for which reaſon, the conſpirators publiſhed, that the firſt commotion in his favour ſhould coſt him his life. They would even have obliged him, with a naked poignard to his breaſt, to ſign an order to the army not to ſtir in his favour, if they had any regard left for him; but he had already taken this precaution. All theſe ſteps, however, were inſufficient to quiet his enemies, who from time to time threatened to murder him, and throw his head out to the multitude, in caſe any one undertook to reſcue him out of their hands. Nay, they pitched upon four men, whom they ſwore, in the Emperor's name, to diſpatch Don Alvarez, at the firſt order.

Don Alvarez, all this time, was confined, though too ſick to get out of bed, in a room ſo very damp, that the graſs grew under his bed; and ſo very dark, that it was found neceſſary to keep a lamp continually burning over his bolſter. One Bernard de Soſa, an infamous wretch, whom Don Alvarez had ſlightly puniſhed for ſome crime that deſerved death, and who, inſtead of gratitude for the favour ſhewn him, retained nothing but reſentment for the chaſtiſement he had ſuffered, never quitted this chamber. This room had two doors, which were kept conſtantly ſhut; and the guard about the houſe, conſiſted of one hundred and fifty men. The priſoner, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, had the good fortune of being

being well informed of every thing it was proper he ſhould know, by means of notes brought him by an Indian woman, whoſe buſineſs it was to provide him with victuals, though they took care to ſhave her head, and not ſuffer her to wear any thing to ſupply the place of her hair; and even always examined her, before ſhe entered the houſe, with the moſt ſcrupulous and indecent attention, ſo far as to look into her mouth and ears. But they never thought of examining her toes; ſo that, though barefooted, ſhe found means to conceal between them a note, and ſome blank paper in ſeveral folds, with ſo much dexterity, that they never took the leaſt notice of them. As ſoon as ſhe was ſeated at the bed's-head, ſhe pulled out both one and the other, while ſhe appeared to be only ſcratching her feet; then, watching the moment that Soſa happened to turn his back, clapped them into the hands of the governor, who, having read the note with the ſame precaution, anſwered it by means of a powder, made of a kind of earth found in the country, which, diluted with ſpittle, aſſumes a black colour.

THE officers of the revenue ſoon perceived the effects of this contrivance; and, not knowing to whom to attribute them, ſuborned ſome young fellows to debauch Don Alvarez's provedore. But, though ſhe eaſily gave up her chaſtity, ſhe ſcrupulouſly preſerved her integrity. On theſe occaſions, women are more diſcreet than men. In the mean time, the commandant and the revenue officers omitted nothing, to make, every one for himſelf, as many creatures as poſſible, and met with great ſucceſs; as, whoever took part with them, might, without fear of puniſhment, go into the Indian towns; carry off both wives and daughters; take by force, and without payment, every thing they found there to their liking; and

oblige

oblige the men to work for them without any conſideration. The Indians complained of theſe outrages; but their complaints were not liſtened to; which determined ſeveral of them, to take refuge in the mountains, along with their families; and the pious Don Alvarez, who received notice of their flight, forgot the injuries done himſelf, to think only on the miſery the poor fugitives were expoſed to; particularly the danger of loſing the religion, they had ſo lately embraced.

His enemies, who apprehended other conſequences from this deſertion of the Indians, were not aſhamed, in order to put a ſtop to it, to permit ſuch, as had not as yet embraced chriſtanity, to feed upon human fleſh; and, tell them, that it was through mere perverſeneſs, Don Alvarez had forbid them the uſe of it. The Spaniards, who ſtill dared to expreſs any regard for him, fared no better than the Indians; ſo that many of them, likewiſe, thought proper to remove. But they were immediately purſued, and all thoſe, that were overtaken, put into irons. Some of the clergy, who ſpoke of theſe tranſactions in ſuch a manner, as to let their hearers underſtand what they thought of them, were treated with equal ſeverity. In fine, ſeveral private perſons were, for the ſame pretended fault, whipped by the hands of the cmmon hangman, and ſome of them condemned to the gallows. In other reſpects, all were left at liberty, to ſay and do what they pleaſed, whilſt the authors of all theſe diſorders had the impudence to boaſt their zeal for the good of the publick, and the Emperor's ſervice.

In fine, no leſs than fifty Spaniards made the beſt of their way into Brazil, in order to ſail from thence to Spain, and inform the Emperor's council of the deplorable condition of the province. But what ſurpriſed people moſt, was, that the two friars, who,

as

as we have before related, had formerly taken the ſame road, in order to complain of Don Alvarez to the Emperor, now ſet out again, by the ſame way, and on the ſame errand, with the conſent, or perhaps at the requeſt, of the officers of the revenue. Theſe ruffians, however, began at laſt to conſider, that, as long as Don Alvarez remained at the Aſſumption, their power would be very precarious. They had ſhewn themſelves capable of the blackeſt crimes; and many perſons began to ſuſpect, that they had compleated the meaſure of their iniquities by a parricide. But he, who has ſet bounds to the ſea, which in its greateſt fury it can never tranſgreſs, arreſts, when he pleaſes, the hands of thoſe, who ſcruple not to commit the greateſt crimes, when neceſſary to gratify their unruly paſſions. The inhabitants now learned, when they leaſt thought of it, that orders had been given to equip one of Don Alvarez's brigantines to carry him to Spain; and that his enemies had impoſed upon themſelves to ſuch a degree, as to think they had formed a proceſs againſt him, which the Emperor and his council could not but approve. They likewiſe diſtributed to different perſons, the forms of letters, which they were to write to their friends in Spain, to repreſent the Governor as the moſt profligate and abandoned wretch on the face of the earth.

On the other hand, his zealous ſervants did not forget him. They cauſed judicial informations to be taken of every thing that had happened; and, along with ſeveral authentic pieces, which Don Alvarez had put into their hands before his confinement, encloſed them in a beam, hollowed for that purpoſe, which they found means to have nailed to the ſtem of the brigantine; the carpenters, whom they gained over, alledging that this precaution was neceſſary to ſtrengthen the veſſel

veſſel ſufficiently for ſo long a voyage. In the mean time, the populace, who knew nothing of all theſe meaſures, were ſtill under the greateſt uneaſineſs about the fate of their governor, whom ſeveral imagined his enemies would never have aſſurance enough to ſend to Spain. It was even univerſally whiſpered, that it was merely to hide his death, they gave out he was returning to Spain. Upon this, therefore, they brought into his room two eccleſiaſticks, and two gentlemen, whom the inhabitants had no reaſon to ſuſpect; and who diſſipated their apprehenſions by aſſuring them, that they had ſeen the governor full of life. The conſpirators then declared, that, if the Emperor thought proper to ſend Don Alvarez back to Paraguay, and re-eſtabliſh him in his employments, they would receive him with all the ſubmiſſion due to his Majeſty's orders; and even added, that the two revenue officers, who were to embark on board the ſame ſhip with him, would, on their arrival in Spain, ſurrender themſelves priſoners, till their proceedings were examined and approved of.

THE Brigantine being ready to put to ſea, 1545 Cabrera and d'Orantez repaired by night to Don Alvarez's room, who was now very ill; and taking him up in their arms carried him to the ſtreet door. The ſick man looking up to heaven, at this time very bright, and which he had not ſeen ſince the day he was put under arreſt, begged they would permit him to thank God for having once more granted him that ſatisfaction, and threw himſelf on his knees. Two ſoldiers then took him up to carry him a ſhip board; when finding himſelf ſurrounded with a crowd of people drawn together by the report of his departure, he raiſed his voice and cried out, "gentlemen, I take you to witneſs, that I appoint Don Juan de Salazar de Eſpinoſa to command in this province, till his Majeſty has ſent you another

another governor." He could ſay no more, as Vanegas, clapping a poignard to his breaſt, threatened to bury it in his heart, if he ſpoke another word; and even went ſo far as to give him a ſlight wound. The ruffians then commanded the men, who carried Don Alvarez, to preſs forward as faſt as they could; and, when they had him ſafe on board, ordered him to be put down on the ſtern, between two planks, laid ſo cloſe together, that he could not turn himſelf. Cabrera and Vanegas embarked on board the ſame ſhip; and Irala ſent with them a perſon called Lope de Ugarte, to have an eye to his intereſts at court. This man was one of thoſe, who had the greateſt hand in all the exceſſes committed againſt the governor, but like his maſter, had not declared himſelf publickly; for which reaſon, Cabrera and Vanegas flattered themſelves, that in Spain, no one would form any ſuſpicions to their prejudice.

As ſoon as all were embarked, the two revenue officers, who remained behind at the Aſſumption, impriſoned Don Juan de Salazar and Eſtopinian Cabeca de Vaca, nephew to Don Alvarez, and two days after ſent them on board a ſecond brigantine, which ſoon overtook the firſt. The conſpirators muſt have had very ſtrong reaſons to ſend theſe two officers to Spain, as they were men of great birth and merit. But, beſides their being greatly eſteemed by the garriſon, which, therefore, might range itſelf under their orders, they were, perhaps, put on ſhip board, merely to be treated in the ſame manner with the governor, whom, it appears, his enemies had reſolved to put out of the way. It is, at leaſt, certain, that Don Alvarez, having requeſted, that two of his ſervants, who had followed him a ſhip board, might be permitted to dreſs his victuals for him, and ſerve them up to him, was denied this ſmall favour, and a Biſcayen, called Mechin, had orders

orders to perform the firſt part of this office; and then deliver what he had prepared into the hands of Ugarte, who was to perform the ſecond. But Don Alvarez immediately perceived, that his victuals were ſeaſoned with arſenic, againſt which he had no other way of ſecuring himſelf, but by vomiting himſelf violently with a little oil, of which he had taken on board a ſmall quantity. After having gone on in this manner for three days ſucceſſively, he declared he would no longer take any thing but from the hands of his own ſervants; upon which the revenue officers told him very coolly, that he might ſtarve himſelf, if he pleaſed; for that no one ſhould hinder him. Accordingly they ſuffered him to go without any ſupport for ſeveral days, till, finding himſelf very far gone, and that his enemies wiſhed only for his death, he took every thing they gave him; continuing to have recourſe to his oil, as often as he found any occaſion for it.

Besides Salazar and Cabeca de Vaca, the conſpirators had embarked, as priſoners, on board the ſecond ſhip, Pedro Fernandez and Ruiz Miranda. Several other perſons obtained leave to return to Spain by the ſame opportunity, and, among the reſt, father Juan de Salazar, a religious of la Merci; but, firſt, they made him promiſe, not to interpoſe in favour of Don Alvarez. Cabrera and Vanegas, however, thought this was running too great a riſk, and ſent them back to the Aſſumption on board the ſame ſhip, that had brought them out; and, along with them, the two ſervants of Don Alvarez, to the great grief of their maſter.

The other brigantine, with Don Alvarez on board, had ſcarce loſt ſight of land, when there aroſe ſo furious a ſtorm, that the moſt experienced mariners gave themſelves up for loſt. Upon this, the two revenue officers, who thought themſelves at the point of being arraigned at that great tribunal from

whence there is no appeal, and where truth can neither be ſtifled nor diſguiſed, felt all the weight of their crimes. Nay the pangs of their conſcience, extorted from them a public confeſſion of all their iniquities, and forced them to declare, that they now plainly ſaw, that the arm, which revenges oppreſſed innocence, had ſtirred up the elements againſt them. Cabrera took off the governor's irons with his own hands; and, along with Vanegas, kiſſed his feet. They then, with a loud voice, aſked his pardon for all the injuries they had done him, and authentically recanted all the falſe reports they had ſpread to the prejudice of his honour; adding that they had taken a thouſand falſe oaths to deſtroy him. Laſtly, they conjured him, in the name of God, to forgive them all theſe enormities; and not ruin them, in caſe they eſcaped, in the eyes of his imperial Majeſty.

Don Alvarez promiſed them every thing they aſked, and aſſured them, that he forgot all that was paſt. In the mean time, the ſtorm, after raging four days without intermiſſion, had entirely ſubſided, and the whole ſhip's company looked upon themſelves as indebted to the virtue and merits of ſo holy a man, for their unexpected deliverance. The brigantine, after this, ſailed two thouſand five hundred leagues without making land; ſo that the people on board ſoon ſaw themſelves reduced to a little meal, which they made into cakes with hog's lard; for the revenue officers ſcarce ſaw themſelves out of danger of periſhing by ſhipwreck, than the fear of God's judgments made way in their wicked hearts for that of their ſovereign's anger, againſt which Don Alvarez's promiſes they imagined would be but a ſlender ſecurity, after the publick confeſſion they had made. They, therefore, choſe to keep to ſea, though in danger of periſhing by hunger, rather than by touching at the Brazils, or Hiſpaniola,

Hiſpaniola, expoſe themſelves to the danger of being arreſted there. At length, after a three months dreadful navigation, the immediate proſpect of famine obliged them to put into the Azores, where, immediately on landing, they waited on the commander of the fort to acquaint him, that they had on board a man, who, in his paſſage by the Cape de verd iſlands, had plundered that of Santiago; and that he might do whatever he pleaſed with him.

The commander, ſurpriſed at ſuch an accuſation, began to ſuſpect the truth of it. "What you tell me, (ſaid he,) cannot be true. Is there a private man living bold enough to affront my maſter, who, beſides, does not leave his ports defenceleſs enough to be ſo eaſily inſulted?" Confounded with this anſwer, the meaning of which they thoroughly comprehended, they immediately retired without making any reply; and, leaving their priſoner on board the brigantine, went on board another ſhip juſt ſetting ſail for Spain, where they arrived twelve days before him, and gave out that he was gone to Portugal to communicate his diſcoveries to the court of Liſbon. They then repaired to Valladolid, where the court then happened to be, and laid before the council all their memorials, with all the papers they had prepared in ſupport of them.

Unhappily for them, the Royal Council of the Indies had at this time for preſident, Don Sebaſtian Ramirez Fuenſcal, biſhop of Cuenca, who to the greateſt knowledge of American affairs joined the greateſt integrity and circumſpection. He had been before preſident of the Royal Audience of San-Domingo, and of that of New Spain; and his great experience made him immediately ſuſpect, and ſoon diſcover the wicked deſigns of theſe miſcreants, who ſtrove artfully to conceal their machinations under the ſpecious pretext of an unlimited zeal for the good of the public. He was even preparing to

make a public example of them, when death interpoſed to the great regret of all the kingdom. Don Alvarez, in the mean time, arrived at Valladolid; and, the very night of his arrival, his two accuſers ſet out for Madrid, where the court was about to remove a few days after. Garcias Vanegas died ſuddenly, without having time to utter a ſingle word, and his eyes ſtarting out of their ſockets; and, pretty much about the ſame time, Cabrera expired, after killing his wife, in a fit of madneſs. We are alſo told, that the two Friars, who went from the Aſſumption to Brazil, in order to paſs from thence into Spain with memorials againſt Don Alvarez, died ſuddenly, and in a very deplorable manner.

But, though DON ALVAREZ had now no longer any enemies in Spain, and the juſtice of God, ſo ſignally diſplayed againſt his accuſers, ſeemed more than ſufficient to prove his innocence, he was not fully acquitted of every thing laid to his charge in leſs than eight years; nor did the council think proper to ſend him back to Paraguay, leſt his preſence there ſhould occaſion freſh diſturbances. Nay he did not, all this time, receive any reward for his ſervices, nor any indemnification for the loſſes he had incurred, and the diſburſements he had made, in the emperor's ſervice. This delay is attributed to his Majeſty's long abſence from his Spaniſh territories. At laſt, the Emperor granted him a penſion of two thouſand gold crowns, and gave him a place in the Royal Audience of Seville, where he died in a very advanced age. I have, indeed, ſeen a memorial, in which it is ſaid, that he was immediately gratified with a ſeat in the Royal Council of the Indies. But, though his ſovereign might have amply rewarded him for all his ſervices, he never indemnified him for all his ſufferings, nor properly acknowledged the heroic manner, in which he bore the many indignities that had been offered

him

him. At this, however, we are not to be ſurprized. There are virtues which no earthly monarch can do juſtice to. Thoſe, who think and act up to the great principles of chriſtianity, know that God alone can be their reward.

The ſlowneſs of theſe proceedings may, indeed in ſome meaſure be accounted for, by the diſtance of Paraguay, from whence it was requiſite to have judicial informations; as well as by the long abſence of the Emperor from his hereditary dominions. Beſides, this great and good man, might, agreeable to his known diſpoſition, put up with the teſtimony of his conſcience; and, therefore, give himſelf very little trouble to ſolicit his judges, and engage them to terminate the proſecution againſt him, though he knew it muſt end greatly to his advantage. But what did him moſt honour, was, that he never let fall a ſingle word to the prejudice of his enemies, or that could bear hard upon Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, even after he had learned how unworthily this officer had acted in regard to him, after his departure from the Aſſumption, as we ſhall preſently relate. However, the agent, whom Irala ſent over to take care of his intereſts at court, could never obtain leave to return to Paraguay. All that now remains to compleat the hiſtory of Don Alvarez is, to give ſome account of the voyage undertaken, by his orders, by captain Fernandez de Ribera, and of which Don Alvarez himſelf heard nothing till his arrival in Spain.

Ribera, as has been already ſaid, ſet out from King's Port, the 20th of December, 1543, with two fifty men, and entered the Iguata, which, in ſix days, he found to be formed weſtward of the Paraguay and King's Port, by the junction of two others called *Yacareati* and *Yayva*. Here he left his brigantine, with twelve men to take care of her,

and set out with the other forty, and a guide given him by the Xarayes, who understood the language current in a great part of the country he was to traverse, and a royal notary, called John Valderas, sent with him by Don Alvarez to keep an exact account of every thing they could discover. But Ribera thought it best not to impart any thing of what he learned by means of his interpreter, in his private conversations with the Indians, to any one, but Don Alvarez, who, he knew, was determined to examine every thing by himself. But Don Alvarez being too much indispoſed, at Ribera's return to King's Port, to receive a full account of every thing he learned, he followed him to the Assumption; where we have seen it was impossible to speak to him at any rate. Upon this, Ribera thought it his duty to draw up a relation, in form, of all his discoveries; and, as soon as it was ready, he assembled, in the church of the fathers for the redemption of captives, some persons, upon whose discretion he could depend; then, in presence of the superior of the convent, and the royal notary Pedro Fernandez, he read to them his relation, and swore to the truth of it upon the holy evangelists. The substance of it I shall now give the reader.

Ribera, on his arrival at the confluence of the two rivers forming the Iguata, was informed by the Xarayes he met there, that the Yayoa issues from the mountains of Santa Martha; and the Yacareati, from those of Peru, whence it falls precipitately into a very low country; that they, first, mix together in the country of the *Perobacaez*, and then separate and form a very great island well inhabited by different nations. After taking leave of the Xarayes, whose Cacique, called *Camire*, had received him with extraordinary marks of kindness and respect, he continued his march for three days, when he arrived among

among another nation of Indians, called *Urtuezez*, who, like the Xarayes, till the ground, and feed ſeveral kinds of poultry. He then puſhed on, through a very populous country, till he arrived in fourteen degrees and fifty three minutes of South latitude.

During his ſtay among the Urtuezez, who had for neighbours the *Aburtinez*, a great many Indians of the neighbourhood came to wait upon him, and preſented him feathers like thoſe found in Peru, and plates of a metal they called *Chafalonia*. He examined them ſeparately, concerning the country that lay beyond them, and they all unanimouſly told him, that, at ten days march to the North-weſt, there were large towns inhabited by women, who had great quantities of white and yellow metal, and were governed by a woman, whom the nations in her neighbourhood greatly feared and reſpected; that theſe women made uſe of nothing but what was made of white metal; and that, on the road to them, there was a nation of very little men, unable to make head againſt the women who often invaded their country; but that, however, at a certain ſeaſon of the year, they ſent for ſome of theſe little men, to have children by them; that they kept the girls to themſelves, but ſent the boys, when weaned, back to their fathers; that, by what he could gather from theſe Indians, theſe women inhabit a tract of land, North-north-weſt of the mountains of Santa Martha, and a great lake, which the natives call *the houſe of the ſun*, becauſe this luminary appears to them to ſet in it; that, beyond the country of theſe women, there are ſeveral numerous nations of black men, with beards terminating in a point. The Indians, who gave this account, added, that they had heard thoſe particulars from their fathers, but had not themſelves had an opportunity of being eye-witneſs to them;

that their neighbours had given them the ſame account, adding, withal, that all thoſe black men were very well dreſſed, had large houſes built with earth and ſtones, and white and yellow metal in ſuch plenty, that all their veſſels, their kettles, and in general, all their utenſils were made of one or the other.

Ribera aſked them, which way theſe black men lived, and they anſwered, that, after fifteen days march, North-weſt, he might expect to be very near their country; from whence he concluded, that they muſt be ſituated about the twelfth degree of South latitude, between the mountains of Santa Martha and thoſe of the Maranon. He was likewiſe informed, that theſe black men were a very warlike nation, but had no other arms but bows and arrows. The ſame Indians gave him, likewiſe, to underſtand by ſigns, that, between the Weſt-north-weſt and the North-weſt one quarter North, there were a great many well inhabited tracts of land, and ſome towns of ſuch a length, that a man could not, in one day, walk from one end of them to the other; that all theſe Indians had a great deal of yellow and white metal, and that the road to them was not very long, and lay, beſides, through a populous country; that there was a lake to the Weſt, of ſuch extent, that there was no ſeeing acroſs it; that all the Indians living in the neighbourhood of this lake had a great deal of metal and little ſtones, that caſt a great luſtre, and with which they adorned the borders of their cloaths, and their furniture; that their towns were very large; that they tilled their ground, and bred great quantities of poultry; and that from the place where he now was, he might arrive at the lake in fifteen days; that the roads to it were very good, when the waters did not happen to be out, and lay through a populous country; that, at preſent, the rivers in the way had

had overflown their banks; and that, beſides, Ribera had too few men to attempt travelling through ſo well inhabited a country.

They then told him, that, Weſt one quarter South Weſt, there were other great towns, whoſe houſes were built with earth, and whoſe inhabitants were very courteous and rich, having metals in abundance, and feeding great flocks of very large ſheep, which they made uſe of to plough and harrow their ground, and carry burdens; that he could get to them in a few days; and that the road lay through an inhabited country, where there were chriſtians all, and ſome ſandy deſarts, where no water was to be found. Ribera having aſked them, how they came to know they were chriſtians at that ſide of the country, they anſwered, that, formerly, ſome Indians, who lived at no great diſtance from theſe towns, had heard the people of the country ſay, that, in croſſing theſe deſarts, they had ſeen white men, with beards, dreſſed like himſelf, and riding upon animals, which, according to the deſcription they gave of them, muſt be horſes; but, that not finding any water in theſe deſarts, they were obliged to make the beſt of their way back; after many of them had periſhed with hunger and thirſt.

Ribera, having then aſked them, how they came to know all theſe particulars, they anſwered, that there was a great communication between all theſe nations; and that it was certain, chriſtians had been ſeen, with their horſes, coming from towards the deſart; that they likewiſe knew, by hear-ſay, that, on the declivity of the mountains to the South-Weſt, there were large towns, whoſe inhabitants were very rich in metals; and that, at the other ſide of the mountains, the water was ſalt, and very great buildings had been ſeen moving on this water. In fine, having aſked them, if all the nations they had mentioned had chiefs, who had

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an authority over the reſt of the nation, they anſwered, that every nation had its own chief, who was always the braveſt men in it, and that all the reſt punctually obeyed him. Ribera concluded, upon oath, that, not ſatisfied with what the Indians told him, when he ſpoke to them in general and all together, he had examined them ſeparately when they all anſwered uniformly, and without the leaſt alteration.

To return to Irala, he behaved as if he flattered himſelf, that Don Alvarez would never return to Paraguay, but would periſh on his paſſage to Spain; or, if he did not fall under the weight of the heavy charges brought againſt him, loſe all his credit in conſequence of them. He entered upon the exerciſe of the poſt, which the enemies of the governor had conferred upon him, by diſtributing his ſpoils among thoſe, whom it moſt imported him to make his friends. But, though Don Alvarez could not be long ignorant of ſo ſtrange a proceeding, he, notwithſtanding, continued to obſerve the ſtricteſt ſilence in regard to him, even when he might have ruined him with a ſingle word.

He ſoon found means to intereſt in his ſucceſs all thoſe, from whom he had any thing to fear, or whoſe aſſiſtance he might ſtand in need of, to continue in the enjoyment of his ill got power, by authorizing their injuſtice, or ſhutting his eyes on their manner of treating the Indians. But, as he ſoon underſtood, that ſuch meaſures, alone, are inſufficient to ſecure the poſſeſſion of an authority, which, when not ratified by the ſovereign, is generally ſhared by thoſe who conferred it, he thought it his buſineſs to give work, abroad, to all thoſe, from whom he might expect any contradiction at home. It was partly for this reaſon, but ſtill more, to make himſelf neceſſary, by entering intothe views of the Emperor, that he reſolved to continue his diſcoveries.

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He little expected the revenue officers would oppoſe him in this deſign. On the firſt mention of it, however, theſe gentlemen told him, that it was not proper he ſhould leave the Aſſumption, till his majeſty had confirmed him in the government of this province. If the miſunderſtanding between him and theſe officers did not break out before this declaration, at leaſt it ſoon followed; and then the confuſion became general. The Indians, who ſoon diſcovered the critical ſituation of the Spaniards, reſolved to take advantage of it. By way of making repriſals for the cruelty, with which the Spaniards did not ceaſe to treat them, they plundered all their country ſettlements. Irala, however, was a gainer on the occaſion, on account of the neceſſity the Spaniards had of him to repreſs theſe inſults. He no ſooner took the field, than the Indians diſappeared; and they never ventured to ſhew their faces again.

HAVING ſo firmly eſtabliſhed his au-
5146. thority by this ſucceſs, that no one, henceforward, dared to contradict him, he reſolved to proceed on his firſt deſign. He had attached to his intereſt a gentleman born at Truxillo, in Eſtramadura, called Naſlo de Chaves, a man of great reſolution, and who wiſhed for nothing more than an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf. This gentleman, he ordered to go and wait for him with the director of proviſions, Leſcano and forty Spaniards, among the *Mayas* or *Yayas*, who live to the Weſt of the Paraguay, and about one hundred leagues north of the Aſſumption, almoſt under the tropic; and, after overcoming ſome unforeſeen obſtacles, which delayed him a little, followed him in perſon, after gaining the ſoldiers, by permitting them to live at diſcretion in all the places they ſhould paſs through; and naming Don Franciſco de Mendoza, his lieutenant general, during his

his abſence. He took along with him three hundred Spaniards, upon four brigantines; and was followed by three thouſand five hundred Indians, part in pirogues, and the reſt by land, to the river of the Itatines, where they at laſt, embarked. Here Chavez joined the general with proviſions; and the army remounted the Paraguay to King's Port.

From King's Port they continued their march till they met the Xarayes, who are ſaid to be the moſt politick and civilized nation of all this continent. At leaſt, they received Irala very well; ſupplied him with proviſions in abundance; gave him ſome men by way of reinforcement, and to ſerve him as guides. This behaviour of theirs engaged him to leave in their care his veſſels, which he had now no longer any occaſion for; and then he ſet out North-Weſtwards. The firſt Indians he met with informed him of many things concerning all the country, reaching as far as the river of Amazons, and told him, among other things, that, on the banks of the lake *Del Dorado*, there were ſeveral nations, who had gold and ſilver in great plenty; that the *Sembicoſis* in particular, who lived to the Weſt, had very rich mines. He, upon this, thought proper to direct his courſe that way; and, after many days march, arrived on the banks of the *Guapay*, which falls into the *Mamore*, a great river, that diſcharges itſelf under the name of *Rio de la Madera* into the Maranon. From hence he travelled till he reached the Sembicoſis, who live at the foot of the Peruvian mountains, and preſented him with many ſamples of gold and ſilver. He, likewiſe met, with ſome Indians there, who informed him, that there then reigned great diviſions among the Spaniards of Peru; and, as he thought this a favourable opportunity to pay his court to the Emperor, he ſent Chaves to the preſident

ſident de la Gaſca, who commanded in that kingdom for his majeſty, to offer himſelf, and all the troops he had along with him. The preſident accepted his offers, and named Don Diego de Centeno, to govern Paraguay during his abſence. It even appears, that he intended this officer ſhould continue there.

But, as Irala's meſſengers made a very long ſtay, becauſe they were obliged to go to Lima, where the preſident then was, his troops preſſed him greatly to enter Peru; and, on being told, that he could not do ſo, without leave from the perſon who commanded there, they replied, that, if that was the caſe, they muſt return to Paraguay. Upon this, he repreſented to them, that he had given his word to Chaves to wait for him, and that, in honour and juſtice, he could not go from it. But, the only effect theſe repreſentations had on the ſoldiers, was to make them mutiny, ſo that he found himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of yielding to their entreaties. At his arrival among the Xarayes, finding his veſſels in good order, he took ſhipping to return to the Aſſumption, where he did not arrive till the third year after he had left it.

1547-49. In this interval, great changes had happened at the Aſſumption. In about twelve months after his ſetting out, Don Franciſco de Mendoza, whom Irala had left to command there during his abſence; and, indeed many others, began to think, that Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, from whom, all this time, there arrived no news, had met with the ſame fate with Don Juan de Ayolas. His friends, therefore, adviſed him to propoſe the election of a new governor, as he could make no doubt, they ſaid, of all the votes being for him; and of his afterwards obtaining, by the intereſt of his illuſtrious family, a commiſſion in form from the Emperor.

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He followed their advice; ſpoke to all the electors; and flattered himſelf, that he had gained them over to his intereſt, though their propoſing to him, that he ſhould firſt reſign his poſt of lieutenant general, might naturally enough make him ſuſpect their ſincerity. How great, therefore, muſt have have been his ſurprize, when, after doing what they propoſed, Don Diego de Abreu was declared governor, on the very firſt ſcrutiny, and proclaimed on the ſpot. Thunder-ſtruck, in a manner, to ſee himſelf thus outwitted by thoſe, whom he flattered himſelf he had made his friends, he conſulted thoſe, whom he ſtill thought ſo; and, they all, unluckily for him, gave it as their opinion, that the election was void; and took notice to him, that it was in conſequence of a premeditated deſign to exclude him from the ſupreme command, he had been firſt obliged to give up that he was in actual poſſeſſion of; that he ſhould begin, by cauſing this his reſignation to be declared ſurreptitious; and then exerciſe the functions of it as before; that they would ſupport him in theſe meaſures, and ſoon find means to make him maſter of de Abreu's perſon.

The new governor was ſoon informed of this cabal; and, without loſing a ſingle moment, cauſed Mendoza's houſe to be inveſted. At the firſt motion for this purpoſe, almoſt all thoſe, who had engaged him in this ſcrape, made their eſcape. The reſt, who continued with him, were all put under arreſt, and ſentenced to loſe their heads. Mendoza appealed to the Emperor's council; but he was told, that his appeal was void and abuſive; and that he ſhould think of nothing but to make his peace with God. Upon this, he reſigned himſelf, and prepared for death, in a chriſtian manner; received the ſacraments of the church; and was conducted by a company of

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ſoldiers to the ſcaffold, which, to the almoſt general diſapprobation of the province, the governor had cauſed to be erected before his own houſe.

We cannot refuſe our tears to the ſad fate of a man of Don Mendoza's family, who, but a few days before, commanded in the ſame city, where he was now condemned to ſuffer as a criminal, and who had gained himſelf every heart by a behaviour equally affable and noble. As ſoon as he had aſcended the ſcaffold, he expreſſed a deſire of ſpeaking, upon which a profound ſilence enſued. He then declared, that on the ſame day and month, a little before his departure from Spain, he had, in a fit of jealouſy, and on bare ſuſpicion, put to death his firſt wife, and his chaplain; that he now ſaw divine juſtice had ordered, that he ſhould expiate his crime, by falling under the hands of an executioner; and that he cheerfully ſubmitted to his ſentence, praying God would be ſatisfied with puniſhing him in this life, and ſpare him in the next.

End of the Second Book.

BOOK

BOOK III.

Irala returns to the Aſſumption, and puniſhes the authors of the revolutions during his abſence. Stratagem of Irala to maintain himſelf in the government. The Aſſumption erected into a biſhoprick. Arrival of the biſhop. Irala's death. Arrival of a new governor. He and the biſhop ſet out for Peru. The governor depoſed by the viceroy of Peru. Another named in his place, who, on his arrival at the Aſſumption, quarrels with the biſhop, and is by him conducted priſoner to Spain. A new governor ſent from Spain. General deſcription of Tucuman and Chaco. Two very remarkable nations in Chaco. Account of the Chiriguanes. Origin of the ſlavery in which the Spaniards hold the Indians.

1549. THE governor, having rid himſelf of ſo dangerous a rival, had now nothing to do but endeavour to procure himſelf the Emperor's commiſſion. He, therefore, immediately diſpatched a caravel to Spain, with Don Alfonſo de Riquelmi, whom he charged with a judicial atteſtation of his election, and the proofs that had been received of Irala's death; ordering Ferdinando de Ribera to eſcort him, with a brigantine, as far as the cape of Santa Martha. Riquelmi's caravel endeavouring to reach an iſland in order to dart from thence into the ocean, was driven by a ſudden ſquall upon a rock, and daſhed to pieces. Ribera, having

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ſoon got intelligence of the caravel's misfortune; took on board the crew, which had happily eſcaped drowning, but were in the greateſt danger of periſhing by the hands of the ſavages; and arrived at the Aſſumption the latter end of the year 1549; when he found Irala returned from his inland expedition up the Paraguay.

The whole town went four leagues to meet him, and ſaluted him in quality of their governor. Don Diego de Abreu, who had not reſolution enough to oppoſe this reception, and might well foreſee that Irala would make him pay dearly for Mendoza's death, choſe to avoid his reſentment by flight. Moſt of thoſe, who had any reaſon to dread a proſecution on the ſame ſcore, took the ſame ſtep, and poſted themſelves in a mountain, from whence it was the more difficult to draw them, as the Indians in the neighbourhood had declared in their favour. But the governor was ſoon comforted for the loſs of his prey by the arrival of Chavez and thoſe who had accompanied him to Peru, from whence he returned, not only without loſing a ſingle man, but with a reinforcement of fifty Spaniards.

1549-50. Chavez, who was ſon-in-law to Don Franciſco de Mendoza, claimed juſtice of the governor againſt thoſe, who had any hand in his death; and Irala promiſed he ſhould have it. Upon this, a few of thoſe who had not as yet abſconded were happy enough to make their eſcape; the reſt ſuffered. Abreu, more and more alarmed at this ſeverity, retired to a greater diſtance, but was at laſt overtaken. Twenty ſoldiers, who had expreſs orders to take him dead or alive, and for that purpoſe were tracking him from place to place, having ſpied a kind of cabin ſurrounded with trees on the top of a mountain of difficult acceſs, clambered up to it in the night time;

and, having diſtinguiſhed him among four or five Spaniards, who ſtill continued to ſtick faithfully by him, one of them fired upon him, and laid him dead upon the ſpot.

1550-55. These tranſactions were attended with great violence and confuſion; and it is no eaſy matter to juſtify all Irala's proceedings on the occaſion. Nay, from his behaviour to Don Alvarez there ariſes a very ſtrong preſumption to his prejudice. Unluckily for his reputation, he did not ſufficiently diſguiſe his paſſion to command; for which he certainly was in many reſpects extremely well qualified. The impunity, with which he permitted the ſoldiery and his adherents to treat not only the Indians, but the reſt of the Spaniards, and which produced many revolts among the former, is utterly inexcuſable. Accordingly, as he had all the reaſon in the world to fear, that ſome of the witneſſes to his vexations would give the Royal council of the Indies, or the Emperor, an account of them, he had every where his ſpies, whoſe vigilance was ſo much the more formidable, as death, or at leaſt impriſonment, was the certain conſequence of being diſcovered to have written any letters to that purpoſe; for he never was at a loſs for pretexts to go ſuch lengths; and he was equally attentive to prevent any of the malcontents ſlipping into Peru, as he had as much to dread from thoſe who commanded there, as from the Emperor and his council.

He could not but know, that, at the very time he ſent an offer of his ſervices to the preſident de la Gaſca, this nobleman, whether becauſe he reſolved to accept them, or becauſe ſome of Irala's deputies had informed him of the troubles in Paraguay, and made ſome complaints of their governor, reſolved to ſend one there, upon whom he could depend; and had for this purpoſe, as we have

have already ſeen, caſt his eyes upon Don Diego de Centeno, an old officer, whoſe name is famous in the hiſtory of Peru for his zeal for the ſervice of his ſovereign, and his other virtues, which rendered him equal to the moſt arduous undertakings, and worthy of the higheſt honours. The bounds of the country, which the commander general of Peru thought proper to commit to his care, were Cuzco and Charcas to the ſouth eaſt and weſt, on the one ſide; and, on the other ſide, Brazil from the fourteenth to the twenty-ſeventh degrees of ſouth latitude.

He recommended to him, above all things, to beſtow his firſt cares on forwarding the temporal and eternal happineſs of the natives; never to employ force againſt them, till fair means ſhould be found abſolutely inſufficient; and not only give the miſſionaries all the protection neceſſary for the due execution of their functions, but even take their advice in all his tranſactions relating to the Indians; not to loſe time in running up and down the country, as his predeceſſors had done to very little or no purpoſe; but to extend his ſettlements by placing them at ſmall diſtances one from the other; this being the only ſure method of quieting the preſent, and preventing future, diſſentions among the Spaniards, and retaining the Indians in their towns, ſince nothing but the dread of being moleſted can oblige them to deſert their old habitations; to exact from the Indians but a very moderate tribute, and regulate it by the advice of the regular and ſecular clergy; to grant no favours but to ſuch as by their ſervice and good character appeared entitled to them; not to take with him any Spaniards who had a hand in Gonzalvo Pizarro's revolt; in fine, to ſee, that all thoſe, who thought proper to follow him to Paraguay, obſerved on the road the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and

carried off no Indians by force, upon any pretext whatever.

It is not to be doubted, but that Paraguay would ſoon have put on another face, in conſequence of inſtructions drawn up with ſo much wiſdom, and given to a man of Centeno's character. But he died in the midſt of his preparations to ſet out for it; and Irala, it is probable, knew nothing, till he received an account of Centeno's death, of the danger he was in of ſeeing himſelf ſupplanted by another, if his ſoldiers had not obliged him to haſten his return to the Aſſumption. Irala's firſt care, on finding himſelf freed from the danger of being thus ſupplanted from Peru, was to make uſeful eſtabliſhments; and it muſt be owned that ſo far Paraguay is greatly indebted to him. He had, by this time, had leiſure enough to ſee, that this colony could not ſubſiſt without a ſea port, where veſſels from Spain might eaſily arrive, and find ſure and convenient anchorage; and it looks, as if he had reſolved, in good earneſt, to procure it that advantage, having ſent captain Juan Romero, with one hundred ſoldiers, upon two brigantines to chuſe one. Romero ſtopt at the mouth of a little river, which falls into the Rio de la Plata, a little above the iſlands of ſaint Gabriel; and had begun to lay down upon its banks the plan of a city, under the name of Saint John, which is likewiſe that of the river, when the Indians annoyed the Spaniards to ſuch a degree, that he, at length, thought proper to give up the attempt, and ſet out for the Aſſumption.

Having, one day during the paſſage, landed with ſome of his people to dine on the banks of the river, the ſpot, where he ordered the table to be laid, ſuddenly looſened from the main land, and floated off with the ſtream. Upon this, he made an attempt to ſwim back to the brigantine,

gantine. But there enſued ſo great an agitation in the waters, that, to avoid being drowned with all his men, he was ſoon obliged to make for the ſhore, where he was ſcarce arrived, when the brigantine went to the bottom. At the end of eight days, ſhe appeared again, when all thoſe who had been left on board her were found dead, except a woman, who aſſured them ſhe had ſuffered nothing, though ſhe had, for twice twenty four hours, forty four fathom of water upon her.

Some time after this, the Guaranis, who lived near the great fall of the Parana, and had voluntarily ſubmitted to the Spaniards, applied to the governor for aſſiſtance againſt the Tapez, inhabitants of the frontiers of Brazil, who, ſupported by the Portugueſe, made frequent irruptions into their country, and committed great ravages there. Irala, thinking it the duty, and even the intereſt, of the Spaniards, to afford them protection, raiſed a little army compoſed of Spaniards and Indians; took the command of it himſelf; and led it to the habitations of the Guaranis, where their warriors joined him. He then marched to the Tapez, who defended themſelves very well, but were worſted at laſt; and, to avoid being entirely cut to pieces, promiſed they would never moleſt the Guaranis for the future.

The governor, having carefully examined the ſpot occupied by the Guaranis, thought it would be proper to build a town there, as well to be at hand to awe all this frontier of Brazil, as to get nearer to the ſea, and thereby always have a better opportunity of informing the council of the Indies of all the wants of the colony. This reſolution once taken, he no ſooner reached the Aſſumption, than he charged Garcias Rodriguez de Vergara, with the execution of his project; and ſent him off, in 1554, with ſixty men, and every

thing requiſite for ſuch an undertaking. Vergara began by looking about for an advantageous ſituation for his new town; and, at laſt, flattered himſelf he had diſcovered one to the right of the Parana, a little above the great fall. He, therefore, immediately ſet about the work, and called his new town *Ontiveras*, after a town in Caſtile, where he was born. But this name of Ontiveras was ſoon loſt, in that of *Guayra*, which the province was known by.

About this time, there arrived an order at the Aſſumption from the council of the Indies, to ſuſpend the diſcoveries, and the new eſtabliſhments among the Indians; and Irala cauſed it to be publiſhed. He then ſent to Spain the Regidor Don Pedro de Molina, a man zealouſly attached to him, under the pretext of informing his majeſty of the condition and wants of his province; but, in reality, to have an eye to his intereſts at court. And, leſt any one ſhould take advantage of this opportunity to write againſt him, he kept Molina's voyage very ſecret, and ſent away with him Nuflo de Chaves, who was preparing, by his orders, to march againſt the Indians of the Brazilian frontiers, of whom his allies had made him heavy complaints. But, as he ſtill dreaded, that, in ſpite of all his precautions, the malcontents might find out ſome means or other of conveying memorials againſt him to the council of the Indies, he thought it but prudent, in order to ward ſo dangerous a ſtroke, to write himſelf to the Emperor, and beſeech his majeſty to order his conduct to be enquired into, from a perſuaſion, that the confidence expreſſed by ſuch a requeſt would defeat all the complaints againſt him, which might happen to reach the ſovereign himſelf, or his council. Truſting, therefore, to his precaution, and looking upon himſelf as ſecure from any court ſtorm, he, at laſt, proceeded to a diſtribution of the lands, which hitherto

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he had conſtantly refuſed; but he did it more like a ſovereign, than a ſubject; and, in ſpite of the Emperor's injunctions, made grants to Portugueſe and other ſtrangers; threatening, with the ſevereſt puniſhment, all thoſe who ſhould take upon themſelves publickly to blame his conduct in this reſpect; as he made no doubt, he ſaid, of obtaining the Emperor's approbation of all his meaſures.

To this act of deſpotiſm he ſoon added two regulations, which tended greatly to obſtruct the trade carried on between the Spaniards and the Indians. The Indians made no ſcruple to expreſs their diſpleaſure at it, though the fear of being ſtill worſe treated hindered moſt of them from ſtirring. Chaves was ſent, with one hundred aud fifty men, to chaſtiſe thoſe who did; but he found it a much harder taſk than he at firſt imagined. The Indians defended themſelves well, and killed him a great many men, for which reaſon, though they loſt as many themſelves, he thought proper to proceed, for the future, by way of negociation; by which he, at laſt, prevailed upon them to return to their duty, and upon the chiefs to follow him to the Aſſumption. Irala put up with the promiſe they gave him of being more ſubmiſſive for the future. People were ſurprized at his treating them with ſo much lenity; but he had juſt received ſome private intelligence, which gave him too much uneaſineſs to let him think of engaging in a new war.

The Emperor having manifeſted, ſince the year 1547, a reſolution of ſending a governor to Paraguay; Don Juan de Sanabria, a very wealthy gentleman, made an offer to his majeſty, to tranſport there, at his own private expence, a good number of families, two hundred and fifty ſoldiers, and ten franciſcan friars; with wheat, beans, and other kinds of ſeed, to ſow the lands with; materials to build ten brigantines to ply on the river; and

goods to be advanced to the Spaniards, in order to enable them to trade with the natives; likewiſe to form two new eſtabliſhments; one, at the mouth of the river St. Francis, already mentioned, between the iſlands of Cananee, and St. Catherine. The Emperor accepted theſe offers, on condition that Sanabria would, likewiſe, take on board one thouſand quintals of iron, one hundred of ſteel, a number of ſuch handicrafts as are moſt uſeful in a new colony, proviſions for all theſe mouths till the firſt crop, and ſix compleat chapels for an equal number of prieſts that might want them; which Sanabria conſenting to, his majeſty conferred on him all the power he had before conferred on Don Pedro de Mendoza; created him adelantade, governor, captain general, and alguazil major of the province of Rio de la Plata, with all the appointments attached to theſe dignities granted him the poſt of lieutenant general for all the places he ſhould build; and all the power neceſſary to explore, and people the country, in what manner he himſelf might think proper. In fine, he recommended to him not to ſuffer above one Regidor in the place of his reſidence, nor permit the ordinary alguazils to raiſe the duties higher than five per cent.

The new adelantade, having received his commiſſions, repaired to Seville, to forward his armament, and there received freſh orders from the Emperor, of which the principal were, not to allow the Portugueſe of Brazil to carry on any commerce with Paraguay; to require nothing of the friars for their paſſage; and to take out of the royal treaſury three hundred ducats, to ſupply them with every thing they might want for the due celebration of the holy myſteries. But, at the time Don Juan de Sanabria was moſt taken up with the preparations for his voyage, he died, to the great

great regret of all those who knew him, and had the welfare of the province of Paraguay at heart. His death, in fact, was a great loss to this infant colony, which now, more than ever, required the assistance of a governor like him.

The Emperor having offered Sanabria's son to renew with him the treaty he had made with his father, he accepted it with thanks; and, after several unexpected delays, embarked for his government; but, on entering the bay of Rio de la Plata, he unfortunately perished by shipwreck, with all his company, except a few sailors, who, carrying the news of it to the Assumption, spread a general consternation among the inhabitants. It appears by some historians, that the Emperor sent new commissions to Irala, when he found that young Sanabria would not be ready to set out as soon as it was first expected, though it does not equally appear, that Irala stood in need of such commissions to retain his place, till a successor appointed by the Emperor should arrive, unless, perhaps, those he already had were for a limited time, and the term of them was expired.

The news of Sanabria's misfortune was soon compensated by that of the Emperor's having, at length, procured the province of la Plata a bishop; a thing much more necessary, than many persons in the colonies are willing to believe. In a consistory held at Rome, the first of July 1547, by Pope Paul III. the city of the Assumption was erected into a bishoprick, under the title of *Oppidum seu Pagus de Rio de la Plata*; and father Juan de Barros, of the order of St. Francis, was appointed to it, but he never took possession of it. On his translation to another see, in 1554, father Pedro de la Torré, of the same order, was named to succeed him, and set out, the year following, for Paraguay.

The

The inhabitants of the Aſſumption, having learned that there appeared ſome ſhips at the entrance of Rio de la Plata, by means of fires, which the Indians had agreed with the Spaniards to make from diſtance to diſtance on ſuch occaſions; and ſoon after, that the ſhips brought them a biſhop, prepared to receive him, in a manner ſuitable to his dignity, and expreſſive of the great hopes they entertained, that his preſence would procure them a conſiderable abatement of the evils moſt of them groaned under. The ſecular clergy, very few in ber, the friars of St. Francis, and two of the order for the redemption of captives, at the firſt news of his approach, went out to meet him, and found him attended by no mean retinue of prieſts and domeſticks; the Emperor having thought proper, that he ſhould appear, at his firſt entrance into his dioceſe, with a train ſuitable to his dignity. Irala, who happened to be abſent from the Aſſumption, when the firſt news of the biſhop's approach arrived there, haſtened back to receive him; and, on meeting him, fell upon his knees to aſk his benediction.

Don Pedro de la Torre had left Spain with three ſhips full of men, arms, and ammunition, all ſent by the Emperor, under the command of Martin de Urua, who came to Spain from Rio de la Plata, in quality of procurator of that Province. He delivered Irala commiſſions, which continued him in his government, and ſome orders of his majeſty, containing a great many regulations, of which the principal related to what the Spaniards call *Commandes*.

These commandes were a method contrived to reward thoſe, who had contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the colony, and who, as has been already obſerved, were ſtiled the *Conquerors* of Paraguay. We ſhall ſoon explain, at large, what theſe commandes

mandes were. Let it ſuffice, for the preſent, to ſay, that they conſiſted of a certain number of Indian ſubjects, who were obliged to ſerve thoſe to whom they were granted. But, there not being, as yet, enough of theſe poor creatures to ſupply all the Spaniards, who laid claim to their ſervices, the governor, by the advice of the biſhop and all thoſe who had a right of voting in the council, reſolved to form new ſettlements of the natives, of whom they thought themſelves intitled to diſpoſe, at the ſame time that they knew it was impoſſible to do it, till they fixed them to ſome certain ſpot.

1557. THE year following, the governor ſent captain Rui Diaz Melgarejo into the province of Guayra, by which was underſtood all the country watered by the Parana, above the great fall and the rivers that flow into it. Melgarejo, after ſurveying a great deal of it, found the ſituation of the city of Guayra but indifferent. He, therefore, took all the inhabitants out of it; and, having tranſported them to the other ſide of the Parana, he there traced out, on the banks of it but three leagues higher, near the place where it receives the little river Piquiri, a new town, which he called *Ciudad Real*. The air here is not over wholſome; but, in other reſpects, the ſituation is very advantageous. Fiſh, and land game eſpecially, are found here in the greateſt plenty. Forty thouſand Indians were given to the inhabitants of the place, who found no great difficulty in bringing them to cultivate the earth, which, in a ſhort time, rewarded their pains with plentiful crops of grain, pulſe, and cotton. Some memoirs ſay, that vines and ſugar canes were planted here with ſome ſucceſs.

AT the ſame time that Irala ſent Melgarejo into the province of Guayra, he diſpatched Nuflo de Chaves, with two hundred and twenty ſoldiers, and three thou-

thouſand five hundred Indians, to make ſuch another eſtabliſhment among the Xarayes. Chaves, who had his own views, found no ſituation, in all the country, convenient enough for a town; ſo turned to the Weſt, on receiving advice, that, by following a courſe laid down to him, he would meet with Guaranis pretty near the frontiers of Peru. One of the firſt nations he found on his road was the Chiquites, who obliged him to meaſure his ſtrength with them; for, as war was not his errand, and he was beſides, deſirous of preſerving all the troops he had brought with him, he, at firſt, turned out of their way. But when he thought he had leaſt to fear from thoſe brave Indians, who had given ſo much uneaſineſs to the conquerors of Peru, he found them before him, armed with pikes darts and arrows, defended by a ſtrong palliſadoe ſurrounded with ditches and trenches; and the whole with pointed ſtakes of a very hard wood driven into the earth.

Chaves, now finding that the Chiquites were reſolved in good earneſt not to let him proceed any further, heſitated no longer to attack them; and, at laſt, obliged them to give way, and take to their heels, though not without the loſs of a good many men, who were killed on the ſpot, and a great many others, who, though very ſlightly wounded in appearance, died in a few days after, the Chiquites, it ſeems, having made uſe of poiſoned arrows to defend themſelves. Upon this, the ſurviving Spaniards inſiſted on Chaves's executing the orders he had received to form an eſtabliſhment among the Chiquites. This was a fine opportunity to ſecure the poſſeſſion of King's Port; but Chaves, it ſeems, was reſolved not to return back to Paraguay.

In the mean time, he received intelligence of the death of Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, who, having made an excurſion to an Indian town to haſten

haſten a fall of wood for the conſtruction of a chapel, he was building in the cathedral of the Aſſumption, was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which obliged him to return to the city, and carried him off in a ſhort time. He had, however, time enough to prepare for his appearance before God, and made the proper uſe of it. The biſhop never ſtirred from him during theſe precious moments, and he expired with ſentiments, which greatly edified the aſſiſtants. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf near his end, he named Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, his ſon in law, lieutenant general and commander of the province, till the Emperor ſhould name another; and this choice was univerſally approved. Mendoza ſcrupulouſly followed all the views of his father in law, in regard to the making of new eſtabliſhments; and, as he had none ſo much at heart, as that Chaves had been directed to attempt among the Xarayes, he immediately diſpatched an expreſs to him with orders to execute what had been already preſcribed to him on that head.

1557-58. The meſſengers found him on the ſpot, where he had forced the intrenchment of the Chiquites. But he had advanced too far to return, though not without maturely weighing all the conſequences of it. Moſt of his men, he had reaſon to fear, would deſert him; and, in fact, one hundred and forty told him plainly, that, if he was reſolved not to return to the Xarayes, they could follow him no further. To this he made anſwer, that he did not intend to force any man. Upon this, they named for their commander the captain Gonzales Caſco, and ſet out for the Xarayes. Chaves with about ſixty men, who remained with him, continued his march to the plains of the *Tamaguaco*, where he met captain Andrew Manſo, whom the marquis de Ca-

nette

nette, viceroy of Peru, had ſent with a ſtrong detachment to make an eſtabliſhment there.

THOUGH theſe two officers met in a country extenſive enough to ſatisfy their ambition, they could not agree; ſo that, to terminate the differences between them, it was, at laſt, found requiſite to have recourſe to the royal audience of la Plata *. The preſident of this ſuperior court repaired to the field of contention, and aſſigned to each his diſtrict. Upon this, Chaves, leaving his company under the orders of Fernand de Salazar his lieutenant, immediately went to pay his reſpects to the viceroy at Lima, and gave him to underſtand, that the country ceded to him was very rich, and would admit of very good eſtabliſhments. The marquis de Canette, though he knew Chaves only by name, and that he had married one of his relations †, took a great liking to him, and immediately named his ſon, Don Garcias de Mendoza, governor of all this country, and beſtowed the poſt of king's lieutenant under him upon Chaves, whom he ordered to return there directly. Chaves obeyed, and began the exerciſe of his charge by founding in this new province a town, called *Santa Cruz de la Sierra*, at the foot of a mountain, and on the banks of a very pretty rivulet. Sixty thouſand Indians of the neighbourhood were reduced without fighting; but, as moſt of them were of the nation called *Moxes*, who were not converted in leſs than one hundred and fifty years after this period, their ſubmiſſion, during this long interval, was little better than apparent; for they never wore the yoke but when they could not ſhake

* The royal audiences are ſuperior courts immediately under the viceroy. All that country, to which we give the name of Paraguay, is ſubject to that of the city of la Plata.

† The daughter of Don Francis de Mendoza beheaded at the Aſſumption.

ſhake it off. This town has been ſince removed fifty leagues more to the north; and it is very probable, that the Moxes ſince that time entirely recovered their liberty.

In the mean time the Spaniards who had ſeparated from Chaves, and whom all the Indians had followed, made the beſt of their way back to the Xarayes; and from thence, as ſoon as the veſſels they had left with them were refitted, to the Aſſumption. The firſt thing they heard on their arrival here was, that the lieutenant general was dead, and that Don Juan Ortiz de Vergara, who had been unanimouſly elected to ſucceed him, had been publicly declared by the biſhop, in the name of his majeſty, governor, captain general, and chief juſtice of the province of Rio de la Plata, to the general ſatisfaction of all the inhabitants.

The year following, the Guaranis revolted, probably with a view of being able to ſhake off a yoke, the weight of which grew from day to day more intolerable. Several of them had accompanied Nuflo de Chaves in the expedition we ſpoke of; and, having ſeen the effects of the poiſonous arrows of the Chiquites, had brought home a great quantity of them. They flattered themſelves, it is probable, that with ſuch arms they might ſoon be able to exterminate part of the Spaniards, and oblige the reſt to abandon the country. Be that as it will, their revolt ſoon became a much more ſerious affair than it was at firſt thought to be; and the governor had occaſion for all his forces to ſuppreſs it. The Guaranis had the advantage in the firſt ſkirmiſhes, and, if the poiſon of their arrows had not loſt a great deal of its activity, might poſſibly have accompliſhed their deſign. At leaſt, the Spaniards found it requiſite to treat with great gentleneſs,

thoſe,

thoſe, who firſt diſcovered a deſire of peace, for fear the whole nation, which was very numerous, ſhould conſpire together; and ſupply with deſpair, the place of poiſon, now no longer of any ſervice to them. This method had the deſired ſucceſs; but the Spaniards never benefited by the leſſon, which this, and even another affair of the ſame kind, offered them, ſo far as to alter their treatment of men, they could not poſſibly do without, and whoſe affection, it will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory, they might have eaſily gained.

1560. The governor, who had marched in perſon againſt the Guaranis in the neighbourhood of the Aſſumption, was ſcarce returned to that city, when an Indian came to require of him, in the name of Melgarejo, ſpeedy ſuccours againſt thoſe in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Real, who had likewiſe taken up arms. The Indian added, that he had paſt through the thick of the enemies, who would have certainly ſtopt, and, perhaps, killed him, had he not bethought himſelf of ſpeaking very ill of the Spaniards to all thoſe he was under a neceſſity of converſing with. The governor ſeeing him naked, with nothing but his bow and arrows about him, aſked him, what proof he could give of his commiſſion. The only anſwer the Indian gave to this queſtion was, by putting his bow into the governor's hand, and deſiring him to examine it well. The governor turned it every way, and examined it on all ſides, as did likewiſe all the aſſiſtants, but without diſcovering any thing extraordinary to attract their attention. The Indian, upon this, taking it back, ſhewed them in the middle of its bend, and on the inſide, a little ſlit ſo well cloſed, as to be ſcarce diſcernible; and then drew out of it a note from Melgarejo, which was to ſerve him for his credentials.

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The general, after deliberating on the means to ſtifle this revolt, gave the commiſſion to Don Alphonſo de Riquelmi, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in that of the Guaranis nearer home. Riquelmi, after making ſome difficulty of accepting this commiſſion, on account of ſome miſunderſtanding between him and Melgarejo, ſet out with ſeventy Spaniards. On his arrival, he found that the revolt was almoſt general throughout the whole country, and that Ciudad Real was reduced to the greateſt extremity, being inveſted by the enemy with a ſtrong barricade, which he was obliged to force before he could get into it. Though the governor was not overjoyed to ſee him, and betrayed his ſentiments by the manner in which he received him, he begged him to make a ſally on the enemy, excuſing himſelf from doing it on account of a fluxion in his eyes, which, he ſaid, almoſt deprived him of his ſight.

1560-1. Riquelmi conſented; and, at the head of one hundred Spaniards, and a body of Indians, in whom, however, he placed no great confidence, forced the barricades, purſued the Indians to their neareſt towns, ſeized ſome of their chiefs, whom he immediately ordered to be hanged; and, continuing his march, ſent for the reſt of their Caciques, who came in on the firſt notice, and applied for peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive poſture. He did not grant it, however, till he had taken ſecurity againſt their inconſtancy. This done, he embarked his troops on the Parana; and hearing that there ſtill remained in the heart of the country a great number of Indians, who had vowed the deſtruction of Ciudad Real, and the death of all the Spaniards, he ſet out in queſt of them.

After traverſing a very thick wood, he diſcovered a body of Indians pretty advantageouſly

poſted in a grove of pines, where he attacked them with ſo much reſolution, that they, at laſt, fled in great diſorder; but, being joined by great numbers of other Indians, they faced about, and ſuddenly ſurrounded Riquelmi in a very long and very narrow valley. Though he thoroughly comprehended the greatneſs of his danger, inſtead of ſuffering himſelf to be diſheartened by it, he put on the bolder face; and, by his intrepid appearance, diſconcerted the enemy to ſuch a degree, that they permitted him to recover the plain, where a great number of Indians were encamped. Theſe he immediately charged, killed a vaſt number of them, took a great many of thoſe who had eſcaped priſoners, and among them many chiefs, who, to obtain their lives, told him they had been forced to to take up arms by the moſt powerful Caciques of their nation, and by thoſe who had been given in command to the Spaniards, and were, at any rate, for ſhaking off the Spaniſh yoke. Riquelmi, after ſpending all the winter following in reeſtabliſhing tranquility and order in this province, returned to the Aſſumption, where he was received, as it were, in triumph, and amidſt the acclamations of all the inhabitants.

The governor, who, probably, had not as yet received his commiſſions, but intended to ſend Melgarejo into Spain to ſolicit them, and give the Emperor an account of the preſent ſtate of his province, thought he could not truſt Ciudal Real, and the province of Guayra, to better hands than thoſe which had delivered the one and pacified the other. He, therefore, ſent for Melgarejo, for whoſe reception he had ready one of the largeſt and beſt built veſſels that had been as yet ſeen in Paraguay. But in the middle of the night, juſt as the crew were on the point of going on board, ſhe appeared all in a blaze, and was reduced to aſhes, in ſpite of all

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the efforts of the inhabitants to ſave her. All endeavours to diſcover the incendiary proved equally ineffectual; but he was ſuſpected to be ſomebody, who bore no good will to the governor, and grudged him a poſt, of which he thought himſelf more worthy.

1560-65. Upon this, ſome perſons adviſed Vergara to apply to the Viceroy of Peru for commiſſions to confirm him in the government; and, though he could not, in all probability, take any ſtep more detrimental to himſelf and to his province, he ſo much reliſhed it, that, as ſoon as he had ſuppreſſed a new revolt among the Indians, in doing which a great deal of blood was ſpilt on both ſides, he reſolved to wait on the Viceroy in perſon, and ſpared no expence to appear to advantage. The comptroller, Philip de Caceres;* the factor, Peter de Orantes; the captains Peter de Segura and Chriſtopher de Saavedra; the attorney general, Rui Gomez Maldonado; and a great many other gentlemen would be of the expedition. Nay, to the great ſurprize of moſt perſons, the biſhop himſelf thought proper to make one with them, attended by fourteen regular or ſecular prieſts.

Vergara appointed Don Juan de Ortega to command at the Aſſumption during his abſence, and cauſed himſelf to be eſcorted by three thouſand Spaniards, and an equal number of Indians. Nuflo de Chaves, who was now returned to the Aſſumption for his wife and children, ſet out along with him; and, on his arrival among the Itatines, perſuaded three thouſand of them to follow him, by making them the moſt magnificent promiſes. The governor had no ſooner entered the territory of Santa Cruz, then Chaves, ſeeing his hands thus ſtrengthened, declared to him, that he alone had a

* Probably the ſon of the ancient comptroller, and the ſame who accompanied Don Alvarez in his laſt voyage.

right to command there; upon which, nobody knowing who to obey, the greateſt confuſion and diſorder enſued, and was ſoon followed by a great ſcarcity of proviſions, which, along with the great fatigues of the journey proved fatal to numbers. The Itatines, eſpecially, ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that they thought proper to ſtop ſhort, and build a town in a place, where the lands had the appearance of being very fertile, within thirty leagues of Santa Cruz, which the Spaniards and the reſt of the Indians made great marches to reach. But here they found the ſame ſcarcity, they had experienced on their journey; and a great number of the Indians belonging to the governor of Rio de la Plata periſhed by it. At the ſame time, the natives of the country roſe up in arms, and the contagion ſpread even beyond the Guapay. Upon this, Chaves marched againſt the rebels with fifty Spaniards; but not till he had given orders to his lieutenant, Fernand de Salazar to diſarm the governor of Rio de la Plata, and all thoſe who accompanied him, and hinder them from proceeding to Peru, till he was returned from his expedition. But, Vergara having diſpatched a courier to la Plata to complain of this violence, the royal audience forbid Salazar to ſtop them any longer. Vergara, on his arrival at this capital of las Charcas, after many eſcapes from the inveteracy of the Indians, who were enemies to the Spaniards, and ſuffering a great deal by famine, found that ſtill greater mortifications awaited him here.

THERE had been laid before the royal audience no leſs than one hundred and ten heads of accuſation againſt him, ſome of them very weighty; particularly his having drawn from the province, and at a great expence, ſo many Spaniards and Indians, of which great numbers had periſhed on the journey This ſovereign court, however, declared to him, that

that they did not intend to judge of all these charges, but referred him to the licentiate, Don Lope Garcia de Castro, governor and captain general of Peru, and president of the royal audience of Lima, where he resided. To this capital, therefore Vergara immediately repaired; and, on his arrival there, was stript of his government, and ordered to appear before the royal council of the Indies, to answer all the charges brought against him. His government was given to Don Juan Ortiz de Zaraté, an officer who had given proofs of his merit; but on condition, however, that he should obtain commissions directly from the king.

1566. The year following, the new governor of Rio de la Plata past over from Peru into Spain, after naming Philip Caceres his lieutenant general, and distributing to him and his attendants every thing requisite for their journey to the Assumption. Philip IId. received him very graciously, and gave him the amplest powers, and the wisest instructions, for the advancement of the colony, the civilization of the natives, and the solid establishment of the christian religion in these vast countries.

1566-67. The bishop, the lieutenant general, and the remains of the Spaniards and Indians who left Paraguay with Vergara, and who, it is probable, set out much sooner on their return home, took their road through Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where they found Chavez returned from his expedition, and were very well received by him. He even escorted them, for some time, with a good detachment; but he had his views, in doing them this politeness, for he seduced on the road as many of them as he possibly could; particularly, a very able miner, called Munos. On their arrival in the country where the Itatines had stopt, they learned, that

theſe Indians bore no good will to the Spaniards, whoſe reſentment, beſides, they dreaded, becauſe they had ſeparated from them without their conſent. Chavez, therefore, thought it moſt prudent to turn out of their way a little, either to avoid giving them any occaſion of jealouſy, or to have the better opportunity of diſcovering their real intentions.

Being informed, on his arrival near an Indian town, that ſeveral Caciques were aſſembled there, he entered it on horſeback, with twelve ſoldiers only; and alighted in the public place. Several Indians immediately flocked there, ſeemingly to welcome him, and conducted him to a very neat cabin, where they invited him to repoſe himſelf a little. As he was greatly fatigued, he, without further ceremony, threw himſelf into a hammock, and took off his helmet the better to enjoy the benefit of the freſh air, and ſleep more at his eaſe. But he had ſcarce time to ſettle himſelf, when a Cacique came behind him, and, with a violent blow of a macana, killed him upon the ſpot. His twelve ſoldiers were all maſſacred at the ſame time, except a trumpeter, called Alexander, who, covered with wounds as he was, had time enough to get on horſeback again, and inform Don Diego de Mendoza, who followed with the reſt of the ſoldiers, of what had happened; and who, without this notice, would have probably, ſhared the ſame fate.

1568. Chavez, before his ſeparation from the lieutenant general, had promiſed to wait for him at an appointed place. Caceres, therefore, not finding him there a this arrival, began to be very uneaſy about him, when ſome Indians came to adviſe him of his tragical death. Upon this, Caceres puſhed on; and, at laſt, arrived, without any accident, on the banks of the Paraguay. He had

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ſent before him ſix ſoldiers to weigh up the barks and canoes he had ſunk in it, in order to return on board them to the Aſſumption; but ſome Payaguas and other Indians, having diſcovered them, fell upon them, and carried them into ſlavery. Caceres himſelf arrived ſoon after this misfortune; and, hearing what had happened, offered to redeem his ſoldiers; but the Payaguas would not, at firſt, let him have back above three of them; and theſe, too, they ſold him very dear. Some days after, however, they ſent him the reſt, but inſiſted on a ſtill higher ranſom, and even obliged him to advance.

He then bent his march towards the country of the Itatines; and, on his approach to their principal town, found himſelf ſuddenly inveſted, at a time his ſoldiers were working their way through a very bad ſtep. The attack of the Itatines was both very warm, and very well concerted. The Spaniards, animated by their biſhop and clergy, who exhorted them to put all their confidence in the ALMIGHTY, fought, as well as their Indians, with great bravery and order, notwithſtanding the badneſs of their ſituation, and the inveteracy of their enemies; and, having gained a little ground, and recovered a little ſpirits, were preparing to make their beſt efforts, when all on a ſudden the Itatines appeared as if ſeized with a ſudden pannic; and, the next moment, betook themſelves to fight in a moſt precipite manner.

This was not the only rencounter Caceres had with the Itatines, whoſe parties ſeemed to relieve each other regularly, in order to harraſs him, and diſabled ſome of his men in every ſkirmiſh. At laſt, when he had got within fifty leagues of the Aſſumption, he no longer found on his road any but allies, vying with one another to ſupply him with proviſions and refreſhments, and offer him all the other aſſiſtance in their power. The very day of

his arrival in the capital, which was one of the firſt of the year 1569, he aſſembled the council, even before he quitted his arms, to ſhew them his commiſſion as Lieutenant General of the Province; and was received as ſuch, without any oppoſition.

1569 The firſt orders he gave were to finiſh and refit the brigantines and barks in the port, that they might be ready on the firſt notice; and, the beginning of the year following, he ſet out, on board them, with one hundred and fifty men, for the mouth of the river, in order to receive the ſuccours, which the governor had promiſed to ſend him with all convenient ſpeed. But, ſeeing no ſhips arrive, though he waited there for ſome time, and judging his preſence more requiſite at the capital, he left a letter of advice in a bottle faſtened to a great croſs, which he cauſed to be erected on the banks of one of the iſlands of St. Gabriel, and ſet out on his return to the Aſſumption.

He had ſcarce reached it, when a private quarrel, which had ſome time ſubſiſted between him and the biſhop of Paraguay, broke out in an open rupture; and the whole city divided into two parties, both ready to proceed to the laſt extremities. But what was pretty odd in this affair, ſeveral clergymen ſided with the Lieutenant General, and ſome officers declared for the biſhop. Caceres made thoſe, who oppoſed him, feel all the weight of his authority; and the biſhop excommunicated him with the principal miniſters of his violences. Trouble and confuſion now univerſally prevailed; and things, at laſt, came to ſuch a paſs, that there was no knowing a friend from an enemy. The lieutenant general having been one day advertiſed, that a reſolution had been taken in the biſhop's council to put him under arreſt, he immediately laid hands upon all thoſe he moſt ſuſpected, beginning with the biſhop's ſteward, Don Alphonſo de Segovia; and then

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took ſhipping to return to the iſlands of St. Gabriel.

On his arrival at the place where he had left his letter, he detached a brigantine to examine, if any ſhip appeared in the bay; and, being informed there did not, left more letters in ſeveral places and embarked again. He had brought with him the biſhop's ſteward; and took it into his head to ſend him to Tucuman; but thoſe he ordered to conduct him there, unable to penetrate into that province, of which the inhabitants of Paraguay as yet knew very little beſides the name, brought him back again. Caceres, at laſt, after an abſence of four months, arrived at the Aſſumption, where he found the fire of diſſention at a greater height, than ever; nor did his preſence extinguiſh it. Being given to underſtand that his life was in danger, he confined all thoſe whom he happened to ſuſpect of any deſigns upon it. He even gave orders to ſtrangle in priſon, a gentleman from Seville, called Pedro de Eſquivel, and fix his head upon the gallows; then publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, orders not to hold any correſpondence with the biſhop, under the ſevereſt penalties; and being informed that his king's lieutenant, Don Martin Suarez de Toledo, had ſeen the prelate in private, he immediately ſtript him of all his employments.

1570 Upon this, the principal inhabitants of the city, not thinking their lives and liberties any longer in ſafety, retired to the country, and the biſhop ſhut himſelf up in the houſe of the fathers of mercy, where he was not long permitted to remain quiet. The lieutenant general himſelf was very far from being at his eaſe. His fears made him ſtartle at every ſhadow, and he never appeared without a guard of fifty ſoldiers, which he beſides often changed. The biſhop, at laſt, loſt patience; and, one day, as the lieutenant general was entering

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ing the cathedral to hear maſs, ordered him to be ſeized, and impriſoned under a ſtrong guard; and even bolted and chained. His confinement laſted a whole year, at the end of which, the biſhop himſelf conducted him to Spain; God thus permitting, that he ſhould be treated in the ſame manner, in which, his father, if not himſelf, had treated the virtuous Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeca de Vaca. How this tranſaction was reliſhed at court, I have not been able to diſcover. But it is certain, neither the lieutenant general, nor the prelate, ever returned to Paraguay.

1570-73 As ſoon as theſe two champions were embarked, Don Martin Suarez de Toledo took upon him to exerciſe, not only without the conſent, but even againſt the will, of the council, the functions of the charge, of which the lieutenant general had ſo lately ſtript him. Some time after, on the laſt day of September 1735, Juan de Garay, a Biſcayen gentleman, founded the city of Santafé, about ten leagues higher than the place, where *Rio Salado*, coming from Tucuman, falls into Rio de la Plata; and, ſome years after, another was founded, under the name of Xeres, in the latitude of twelve degrees, and thirty leagues to the eaſt of the Paraguay; but by whom, and upon what occaſion, is not mentioned.

To return to the founder of Santafé, after he had brought his town to ſome form, he reſolved to gain ſome knowledge of the neighbourhood, eſpecially to the weſt, where he wiſhed to be able to extend his diſtrict beyond the river. Having cauſed a bark and ſome pirogues to be built for this purpoſe, he embarked on board them with fifty ſoldiers, and entered Rio Salado, on the banks of which he was every where pretty well received by the Indians he met with, till one day, that he found himſelf ſurrounded by them in ſuch a manner, as gave him juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their ſincerity. He had

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ſcarce put himſelf in a condition not to be ſurprized by them, when the whole country appeared in a blaze. Upon this, he immediately diſpatched orders to the maſter of the bark, which he had left behind, probably becauſe ſhe drew too much water, to ſend one of his men to the round top, to ſee and diſcover the cauſe of ſo ſudden and general a conflagration; and the meſſenger immediately returned with word, that the country was quite covered with armed Indians, marching towards him at a great rate.

He immediately drew out his handful of men, and exhorted them not to flinch at the ſight of this rabble, which would not ſtand the diſcharge of their fire arms. The next moment, a ſoldier, whom he had poſted on an eminence, ſent to inform him, that he ſaw a man, on horſe back, purſuing a body of theſe Indians; and he himſelf ſoon diſcovered ſix horſemen, driving the ſame body towards him with ſuch fury, that the poor wretches, to be more at liberty, threw away their bows and arrows, crying out, to his great ſurprize, that they were purſued by Spaniards. Upon this, he immediately diſpatched an Indian, who was greatly attached to him, and knew the country well, with a letter to the Spaniards, with whom he ſoon returned. The account they gave of themſelves was, that they were under the orders of Don Jerom Lewis de Cabrera, governor of Tucuman, who, having founded a town in this province, on the laſt day of September 1573, by the name of New Cordova, had ſent them to reconnoitre the country; and that this expedition was the cauſe of that alarm, which he had perceived amongſt the inhabitants of it.

They then took leave of him, in order to rejoin their general; and Garay returned to Santafé. The governor of Tucuman, on the arrival of his party, ſent Onufro de Aguilar, to declare to Garay, that

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Santafé belonged to his government, and to ſummon him to acknowledge him for his governor and captain general. Aguilar executed his commiſſion with the forms required by law, not only in regard to Garay himſelf, but likewiſe the inhabitants of his new town. To this ſummons they anſwered, that Santafé, having been founded by orders of him who commanded at the Aſſumption, and of the council of the province of Rio de la Plata, it was before them, of courſe, that the governor of Tucuman ſhould lay his pretenſions. In the mean time, three canoes full of Indians arrived at Santafé, and delivered Garay a letter, from the Adelantade Don John Ortiz de Zaraté, dated at Port St. Gabriel.

In this letter, Don John, who, on his arrival at the mouth of Rio de la Plata, had been informed of the foundation of Santafé, appointed Garay his king's lieutenant; and, in quality of Adelantade, chief juſtice of Santafé; acquainting him, at the ſame time, that he was in great want of proviſions, and a reinforcement of men to awe the Charuas, who prevented his ſending for any to the continent. He, likewiſe, encloſed him copies of his own commiſſions, and ſome royal cedules, which contained little more than a confirmation of them. Aguilar, who had not as yet left Santafé, having nothing to reply when ſhewed theſe commiſſions, immediately ſet out for Cordova.

As yet we have had no occaſion to ſpeak of Tucuman, in the courſe of this hiſtory; but it is impoſſible to proceed any further, without taking notice of the tranſactions in that province, and even Chaco, which divides it, in many places, from what was then called the province of Rio de la Plata, hitherto the ſole object of our attention. To prove this neceſſity the better, and render more intelligible what I have to ſay of theſe two provinces, I think

think it will be proper to begin by making the reader well acquainted with their extent; their ſituation; their original inhabitants; in what manner the Spaniards ſettled in the firſt; and all the other moſt remarkable particulars of both.

TUCUMAN is bounded, to the eaſt, by Chaco, taken in the extent given it by father Locano, a jeſuit, the only hiſtorian, who has given us any account of it; to the weſt by the province of *Cuyo*, dependant upon Chili, and by the mountains of Peru; to the north and north-weſt, by the province of las Charcas; to the north-eaſt, by that of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; and is, all, contained between the twenty third and twenty ſecond degrees of ſouth latitude. There is one thing very remarkable in this province, and that is, the nearer you approach the tropic, the colder it is. This is owing to ſeveral chains of mountains, ſome of them exceedingly high, that lie near its northern extremity. Its figure pretty much reſembles that of a cone, with its vertex under the tropic. The baſe may meaſure about ſixty leagues from eaſt to weſt. Its name is that of the firſt nation, met by thoſe who entered it on the ſide of Peru.

MOST of the northern nations live in marſhes, where their chief food conſiſts of fiſh. The ſouthern nations are perpetually roving from place to place, in an extenſive country, where they ſubſiſt by hunting and fowling. It is reported, that human ſkeletons have been found there more than twenty foot long; but this is not the only fable, that has gained credit, concerning theſe remote quarters of South-America. The ſame ſtature has been attributed to ſome people in the neighbourhood of the ſtreights of Magellan, known, in a great many relations, by the name of *Patagonians*. We ſhall find in the courſe of this hiſtory, that all their wonders have been advanced without

out almoſt any foundation. In the heart of Tucuman, the men are, in general, of a lower ſtature, and more ſtupid, than thoſe, whom the firſt adventurers found in the vallies of the Cordilliere of Peru, and equally ſavage and indolent. There are ſome nations, who uſe no other ſhelter, but grottoes they make themſelves under ground, where the day light very ſeldom penetrates. Thoſe next to Peru and the province of las Charcas, are not quite ſo deſtitute, as the reſt, of the conveniences of life; they live in towns. Some have copper and ſilver, which they receive from the province of las Charcas, in which Potoſi is ſituated; but they ſeem to ſet very little value upon theſe metals.

THERE are, in Tucuman, ſheep about the ſize of a ſmall camel, but very ſtrong loined, for which reaſon they make uſe of them for carrying burthens. Their wool is ſo extremely fine, that, when made into ſtuffs, it can ſcarce be diſcerned from ſilk. Lions and tygers are pretty common here. The firſt are ſmall, and not much to be feared; but the ſecond are larger and fiercer than thoſe of any other country. I have already taken notice of the ſame difference between theſe two ſpecies of animals, in ſpeaking of the countries watered by the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata; and it may be ſaid to hold good of all this part of the continent of South-America. The Indians get the tygers out of the woods, by ſetting fire to them; and then kill them, in great numbers, with their arrows, at which they have a very good aim; but, then they muſt be extremely wary and nimble to hinder the tygers from being before hand with them.

THE principal rivers of Tucuman are thoſe moſt commonly called *Rio Salado*, and *Rio Dolce*. Next to theſe the moſt conſiderable is *Rio Tercero*, which I have already taken notice of. But, though the

the two firſt rivers receive ſeveral ſmall ones, it is but here and there they have, in the dry ſeaſons, water enough to carry pirogues. Both have their ſources in the mountains of Peru, and very often change their names. Rio Salado falls into Rio de la Plata; and Rio Dolce loſes itſelf in ſome lakes, called *Pavangos*. There are ſeveral others, which ſteal into the boſom of the earth, in the ſame manner they iſſue from it. Moſt of them even run ſo ſhort a way, and have ſo little water, that no names have been given them, at leaſt in maps. Almoſt all of them change the names given them by the inhabitants, at every town they paſs through. The foreſts are full of ſprings, and at almoſt every ſtep are to be found little lakes and marſhes, which never dry. So much water muſt contribute greatly to refreſh and fertilize the land. Accordingly, though it never rains in Tucuman during ſix months of the year, the earth, kept moiſt by the inundations naturally produced by the almoſt conſtant rains during the other ſix months, yield, with due cultivation, ſeveral ſorts of grain pulſe and eſculent roots.

Tucuman was pretty well inhabited, when the Spaniards entered Peru. The nations neareſt that empire had ſubmitted to the Incas. Others were governed by Caciques, who acknowledged no ſuperior. Thoſe, who roved about from place to place, were ſeparated into families, which acknowledged no maſters but their ſeveral heads. The foreſts between Rio Dolce and Rio Salado abound with honey and wax. Cotton, carouge, cochenil, and paſtel, are to be met with in many places. The carouge laſts the whole year, and ſome nations make their ordinary food of it. Formerly, the principal riches of this country conſiſted in cotton clothes, which paſſed current for money

money among the inhabitants, and were ſent, in great quantities, to Potoſi.

They likewiſe fed great quantities of large and ſmall cattle. The Spaniards, who firſt penetrated into this province, had turned looſe, into the plains and deſarts, horſes and oxen, which they had brought with them from Peru. Theſe animals multiplied to a prodigious degree; ſo that the new maſters of the country, freed from the care of breeding or feeding them, and having nothing to do but hunt them down, lived for ſome time pretty much at their eaſe. But, too little pleaſed with this happy mediocrity, they deſpiſed it to look out for gold; and, too idle to ſupply the place of it by labour, for their enquiries produced but very little, they threw the whole weight of providing for their ſubſiſtence upon the poor Indians, and thereby made of them irreconcilable enemies, who have often ravaged not only their ſeparate habitations, but even their towns; ſo that Tucuman, though ſo near Potoſi and Peru, is one of the pooreſt colonies the Spaniards have in the new world.

The weather is ſo exceſſively cold, in ſome parts of Tucuman, during the winter, that it is not an uncommon thing to find animals, that have periſhed by it. Not only it never rains, but there ſeldom appears ſo much as a cloud, in that ſeaſon. Spring is uſhered in by ſuch heavy ſhowers, that, in towns, the ſtreets reſemble ſo many rivers; and, in the open country, the waters, united in the bottoms, form very large lakes. Theſe ſhowers are accompanied with thunder and lightening, and hail, often as large as a hen's egg. Summer, too, has its inconveniences. The heat then produces ſuch prodigious quantities of bugs, that the inhabitants have no way to avoid them but by ſleeping in the open air in their gardens. Nor is

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that alone quite ſufficient. Yet, the air of Tucuman is ſaid to be pretty wholſome. Nuſſo de Chaves ſeems to have the beſt title to the honour of having diſcovered this province, though ſome Spaniards had croſſed it as far as the Rio de la Plata; for, he penetrated more than once into it, and gave an account of many things relating to the northern parts of it not before taken notice of.

Be that as it will, Tucuman was not ſettled till the year 1542, when Vaca de Caſtro, viceroy of Peru, after defeating the young Almagro, diſtributed, among his captains, the governments, his victory had enabled him to confer; and gratifying with that of Tucuman, though not as yet conquered, Don Diego de Rojas; who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his fidelity and valour during the civil wars. Rojas entered his province with three hundred men, and ſurveyed part of it; but, after meeting with a pretty good reception from ſeveral nations, was, the year following, wounded by a poiſoned arrow, in a ſkirmiſh with ſome others, and died of the wound, having refuſed the aſſiſtance of an Indian woman, who promiſed to cure him.

Upon this, Guttierez whom the viceroy of Peru had named his king's lieutenant, thought to aſſume the command of the army; but, as he had ſome miſunderſtanding with Don Diego de Rojas, the officers, and even the ſoldiers, refuſed to obey him, and choſe Don Franciſco de Mendoza, who had accompanied Guttierez, as his friend, for their general. Guttierez, however, inſiſting on his right, Mendoza made the troops conſent to his ſharing the command with him. They then made ſome excurſions together; but ſoon began to quarrel. Upon this, Mendoza put Guttierez under arreſt, and ſent him with ſix of his adherents, under a

guard of thirty horſemen to Peru. He then required an oath of fidelity from the army. This the camp-maſter Nicholas de Heredia oppoſed, as Guttierez had not as yet received a commiſſion from the viceroy of Peru; but, being the only perſon of this ſentiment, he was ſoon obliged to ſwear like the reſt.

In the mean time, Mendoza did nothing but ramble up and down the country, and made no eſtabliſhment in any place. At length, the preſident de la Gaſta, in 1549, appointed Don Juan Nunes de Prado governor of Tucuman; gave him troops to keep the Indians in awe; and families to people the country; charged him to take, along with him, prieſts both regular and ſecular; and gave him inſtructions in the ſame ſtrain with thoſe he had already given to Don Diego Centeno, for the province of Rio de la Plata. The fathers Alphonſo Trueno, and Gaſpar de Caravaia, of the order of the Merci, ſet out with him, and were the firſt to publiſh the goſpel in Tucuman. But their miſſion would have been much more ſucceſsful, had Prado lived longer, or his ſucceſſors followed the inſtructions he had received, with equal exactneſs.

The governor, to ſecure an eaſy paſſage into his province, founded, in the valley of Calchaqui, in the latitude of twenty four degrees and thirty minutes, a town, which he called *Saint Michael.* But it ſubſiſted but for a ſhort time; for we are not to confound it with another town of the ſame name, which we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention. From the valley of Calchaqui the governor entered upon the plains, and cauſed croſſes to be erected in ſome places, and conſtituted them ſo many aſylums, which wrought in the Indians ſo great a reſpect for this ſign of our ſalvation, that they planted croſſes, like them, in all their

their towns. Some time after this, Don Francis de Vilagras, who was marching, at the head of ſome troops, from Peru into Chili, having taken his rout by Tucuman, encroached upon Prado's authority, pretending that this province depended upon Chili. Prado took up arms to ſupport his right, but had the misfortune to be beat and made priſoner. Vilagras, however, ſatisfied with having humbled his adverſary, ſet him free, on condition, that he would acknowledge the governor of Chili for his ſuperior.

Prado ſurvived this diſgrace but a ſhort time. Soon after his death, Don Pedro de Valdivia, conqueror and governor of Chili, ſent Don Franciſco d'Aguirre to Tucuman, to command there as his lieutenant general. D'Aguirre ſoon became governor; founded, in 1562, the town of Santiago, in the latitude of twenty-eight degrees, in a very hot climate, and a ſandy but well watered ſpot, on the banks of Rio Dolce, which forms, in this place, a kind of lake or rather pond, from whence the town has obtained the name of *Santiago de l'Eſtero*. Two years after this, according to the moſt common opinion, the town of St. Michael was transferred twenty leagues north-weſt of Santiago to a moſt delightful ſpot, in a very fertile country, on a little river, that falls into Rio Dolce, pretty near the higheſt mountain of the frontier, called *Quebrada de Calchaqui*.

In 1567, Don Diego de Heredia, whom father Locano, in his deſcription of Chaco, ſtigmatizes as the uſurper of the government of Tucuman, built, on the banks of Rio Salado, a town, which he called *our lady of Falavera of Madrid*, but which is better known under the name of *Eſteco*, being that of the place where it ſtood; for now it no longer ſubſiſts.

In 1582, the licentiate, Don Hernando de Lerma, governor of this province, founded, in the valley of Salta, a town under the name of *San Philippe de Lerma*, in the latitude of about twenty four degrees and fifteen minutes; but it has been almoſt always known by the name of *Salta*. This town is charmingly ſituated in a valley ſurrounded with mountains at a pretty good diſtance, from whence iſſue ſeveral rivulets, which render it extremely fertile, and enable it to feed cattle enough for its own conſumption, and that of the neighbouring provinces. A little before this period, the Spaniards founded, fifteen leagues more to the north, another town, under the name of *San Salvador de Jujuy*, which, after being twice deſtroyed by the Indians of Chaco, was rebuilt, for the third time, in 1593. Theſe three laſt towns were built by way of barrier to Tucuman, againſt the Indians of Chaco, who have never ceaſed annoying them, and have ſeveral times ruined all the ſmaller ſettlements in their neighbourhood.

It appearing equally proper to fortify this province to the ſouth in the year 1558, Don Juan Gomez de Zurita, its governor, founded, on the road from Santiago to Chili, a fortreſs, to which he gave the name of Canette, and which was ſince, when erected into a city, called *New London*, in honour of Mary queen of England, conſort of Philip the II, king of Spain. But there remains nothing of it at preſent.

Corduba or Cordova, at preſent the moſt conſiderable place in Tucuman, and the ſee of the biſhop of that province, is ſituated in the heart of the country, almoſt mid-way between *Santafe* and *Saint John de la Frontera*, which depends upon Chili. Corduba has no river, but only a little ſtream, which,

which, after a very ſhort courſe, is loſt in a lake. It, however, ſupplies the town with great plenty of fiſh; and there is, beſides, abundance of other game in the neighbourhood. Corduba has all the advantages a great town can wiſh for; fertile fields, and agreeable hills planted by the Spaniards with vines, which yield a great deal of wine. It is, in ſhort, as it were, the centre of the trade and communication between Buenos Ayres, Chili, and the province of las Charcas. The jeſuits have a great college here; an univerſity of ſome reputation; a noviceſhip; and a ſeminary for young noblemen, called Montſerrat. It is, perhaps, the only place in this province, which deſerves the name of a city, and has the appearance of one.

Father Gaetan Catenio, a modeneze jeſuit, who ſet out for Paraguay in 1728, and finiſhed his courſe there in a ſhort time, deſcribes it, in one of his letters, which the late ſignor Muratori annexed to his laſt work, intitled, *Il Chriſtianeſimo felice nelle Miſſioni de Padri della Compagnia de Jeſu, nel Paraguay*, that of *Rioja*, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently, and where the jeſuits have a college, as compoſed of ſeveral hamlets, ſeperated by fields covered with trees, buſhes and briars; ſo that, on his arrival there, he was pretty much ſurprized to find himſelf in the middle of the town, and pretty near his college, at a time he thought himſelf a great way from it. All the towns, however, are not equally country like. Some of them are ſurrounded with a palliſade, at leaſt; though few of them are better built. In this reſpect, however, and that of populouſneſs, they are equal to moſt of the towns of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, the capitals excepted.

Don Juan Gomez Zurita was the firſt to give a regular form to this province. He made war ſucceſsfully againſt the Indians, and ſpread ſo far

the terror of the ſpaniſh arms, that, on taking, in 1558, the numbers of thoſe whom he had ſubjected by force or by fair means, he found, in the province of Santiago alone, no leſs than eighty thouſand, who paid tribute to his catholic majeſty. But Zurita, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, incurred the diſpleaſure of the governor of Chili, who, in 1561, ſent Don Gregorio Caſtanenda there to command in his ſtead. Zurita refuſed to give up his poſt; but he defended it ill, was defeated, and ſent priſoner to Peru. The province, however, did not thrive the better for this revolution, eſpecially after Caſtanenda demoliſhed the town, called New London. In 1563, therefore, it was found neceſſary to ſend back there Don Franciſco d'Aguirre, who ſucceeded pretty well in putting things upon the old footing. But he was not allowed time to enjoy the fruits of his labours; for he was ſoon after called back to Peru, when Tucuman, it ſeems, was declared immediately ſubject to the viceroys of Peru, and within the juriſdiction of the royal audience of las Charcas.

TUCUMAN, as I have already ſaid, is ſeparated from Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, which for many years made but one province, by the country called Chaco, which, though not as yet reduced, is ſo connected with the object of this hiſtory, that I cannot but give ſome account of it. I have already obſerved, that Father Locano gives this province an extent, which confines, on the Weſt, thoſe of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata to the great river known by theſe two names; but this, however, without pretending to abridge the rights of theſe two provinces, or of Tucuman, and las Charcas, on the ſide of which he does not pretend to aſſign it any bounds. Indeed, the governors themſelves of Tucuman and las Charcas cannot aſſign it any, on account of the perpetual ne-

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neſſity they are under of repreſſing the hoſtilities of the inhabitants of Chaco.

Be that as it will, I ſhall now communicate to the reader, what the hiſtorian, whom I have juſt cited, tells us of this extenſive country. The name of *Chaco* ſeems to be of a new date; for there is no mention made of it by this name in the life of St. Solano, of the order of St. Francis, who publiſhed the goſpel in every part of this country. But in the Quitchoane language, which is the original language of Peru, they call *Chacu*, thoſe great flocks of deer goats and ſuch other wild animals, which the inhabitants of this part of America drive together when they hunt them; and this name was given to the country we ſpeak of, becauſe, at the time Francis Pizarro made himſelf maſter of a great part of the Peruvian empire, a great number of its inhabitants took refuge there. Of *Chacu*, which the Spaniards pronounce Chacou, cuſtom has made *Chaco*. It appears, that, at firſt, they comprehended nothing under this name, but the country lying between the mountains of the Cordilliere, the Pilco Mayo, and the Red River; and that they extended it, in proceſs of time, in proportion as other nations joined the Peruvians, who had taken refuge there to defend their liberties againſt the Spaniards.

All thoſe, who ſpeak of Chaco, agree in repreſenting it as one of the fineſt countries in the world; but this is exactly true in regard to that diſtrict alone, which the Peruvians firſt occupied. A chain of mountains, which begins within ſight of Corduba, and, after a turn from South to North, extends to the new town of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, forms, on that ſide, ſo ſtrong a barrier, eſpecially in what they call the *Cordilliere of the Chiriguanes*, as to render it inacceſſible in all theſe places. Several of theſe mountains are ſo very high, that the

vapours of the earth never reach their ſummits; but the winds here are ſo impetuous, that they often carry off the travellers from their horſes. The ſight of the precipices, by which they are ſeparated, would alone be ſufficient to turn the brain of the moſt reſolute traveller, if the thick clouds hanging on their ſides did not intercept the proſpect.

We can ſcarce doubt, that theſe mountains, which are one of the branches of the great Cordilliere, contain ſeveral mines. Nay ſome have been lately diſcovered; but we are not told what they contain. It is, however, a conſtant tradition in Peru, that the *Chicas* and the *Orejones*, who formerly inhabited theſe very mountains, and of whom ſeveral took refuge in Chaco, and in the iſland in the middle of the lake of the Xarayes, as I have already ſaid, uſed to bring both gold and ſilver to Cuſco, the capital of Peru, before the arrival of the Spaniards in that empire. There, likewiſe, iſſue from theſe mountains ſome rivers, whoſe waters are, in general, very wholſome, and contribute greatly to fertilize the province; not to ſpeak of thoſe, which flow northwards; as, for example, the *Guapay* and the *Pirapiti*, which fall into the *Mamore*, and with the Mamore, as I have before taken notice, into the *Manon*. The moſt conſiderable of thoſe, which traverſe Chaco, are the *Pilco Mayo*, *Rio Salado*, and *Rio Vermejo*.

The Pilco Mayo is the largeſt river of Chaco, and, would, alone, be ſufficient to enrich this province, if it was navigable at all ſeaſons; but, in ſome places, it has too little water; and too much, in ſome others. It iſſues from the mountains, which ſeparate Potoſi from Peru; and it is affirmed, that a little river called *Tarapaya*, which, after watering Potoſi, falls into the Pilco Mayo, pretty near its ſource, carries into it a conſiderable quantity of ſilver, which it is impoſſible to ſave, becauſe it ſinks

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into the mud. Some miners, it is ſaid, have calculated, that the ſilver thus loſt in the fifty ſix years, from the year 1545, to 1601, amounted to no leſs than forty millions. It is added, that there paſſes ſo much quickſilver, by the ſame channel, into the Pilco Mayo, that for ſeveral leagues together no fiſh can live in it. The Pilco Mayo, on its leaving the *Plains of Manſo*, which it traverſes, divides into two branches, navigable for pretty large boats. The moſt northerly of theſe branches is almoſt ſalt, and a great deal of ſalt petre is found on its banks. There is no fiſh found in the Pilco Mayo, till it has reached Chaco; when it, likewiſe, begins to abound with alligators.

The two branches of this river fall into the Paraguay; one of them, a little above the Paraguay's confluence with the Parana; and the other, a little above the Aſſumption, which by that means comes to be in an iſland, whoſe mean breadth is five leagues; and length, fourſcore. This iſland is pretty low, and, conſequently very marſhy, to a certain diſtance from the ſeparation of the two branches. In the rainy ſeaſon the two branches are confounded; for they then ſwell to ſuch a degree, that they meet not only each other, but even Rio Vermejo. In the tract of land ſubject to theſe inundations, there are ſeveral lakes, which never dry up. Garcilaſſo de la Vega tells us, that the name of Pilco Mayo, or *Pilco Mayu*, ſignifies, in the Quitcoane language, *River of Sparrows*; and that the *Araguay*, the moſt northerly of its two branches, ſignifies, in the Guarani language, *River of underſtanding*, becauſe it requires a great deal of precaution in thoſe who navigate it, not to loſe the main ſtream, and get into the lake, which communicates with it, and forms a kind of labyrinth, from which they would find it a very difficult matter to extricate themſelves.

Rio

Rio Salado enters Chaco under the name of *River of paſſage*; and is, on its entrance, ſo rapid, as to render the navigation of it very dangerous. On its arrival at the place, where the town of Eſteco formerly ſtood, it changes its firſt name into that of *Rio de Valbuena*; and from its ſource to this place, which is about forty leagues, its waters are tinged of a blood colour, which diſappears by degrees, as it receives the waters of other rivers. This colour is attributed to the ſoil of the valley of Calchaqui, into which this river flows from its ſpring. It is not called ſalt river, till its arrival in the latitude of Santiago: but authors aſſign no reaſons for giving it this name. In fine, it takes a turn to the Eaſt, before it falls into Rio de la Plata; and joining a little river, called *Saladillo*, forms an iſland pretty much in the ſhape of a bow, of which Rio de la Plata is the ſtring. This bow is called Rio de *Coronda*.

Rio Vermejo croſſes Chaco from North-Eaſt to South-Weſt; and, as well as Rio Salado, very often changes its name. I have not been able to diſcover why it is called Rio Vermejo; a name, to which Rio Solado ſeems to have a better title. Rio Vermejo falls into Rio de la Plata under the name of *Rio Grande*. Its ſtream is ſo gentle, that one may, in a manner, as eaſily aſcend, as deſcend, it; eſpecially with the ſmall ſouthern breezes, which begin to blow here every morning at nine o'clock, and refreſh the air greatly. Its waters, beſides being full of fiſh, are deemed very ſalutary. They are ſovereign, it is aſſured, againſt the gravel, the ſtone, all urinary complaints, the cholic, the gout, the dropſy, and indigeſtions. Moſt of theſe virtues are ſaid to be owing to an herb, very common on its banks, called by the Spaniards *Yerva de Urina*. It is, moreover, affirmed, that thoſe, who make their conſtant drink of them

them, live to extreme old age, without ſickneſs or wrinkles.

We muſt, probably, make ſome allowance for theſe commendations; but it is a conſtant tradition among the Spaniards, that, of all the ſoldiers who were employed under Don Martin Ledeſma Valderanna, governor of Tucuman, from 1628 to 1635, in building the town of *Santiago de Guadalcazar*, not one died, or was even indiſpoſed; though the turning up of the earth was alone ſufficient to cauſe a ſickneſs among them. It is, beſides, ſaid, that Don Eſtevan de Urizar, who, in 1710 and 1711, entered Chaco with ſome troops, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and there, for a long time, marched along the banks of the red river, which at that ſide of the country is call *Rio Grande*, had no ſooner made uſe of its waters, though he arrived there in a very bad ſtate of health, than he got the better of all his complaints; and felt no return of them during the two campaigns he made there, though he never ſpared himſelf in the leaſt. It is in a lake formed by this river, under the name of *Rio Grande*, that the pearls were found, which I mentioned in the firſt book of this hiſtory.

Most of the other rivers of Chaco are, likewiſe, remarkable on one account or another. There is one, for inſtance, whoſe waters are green; and it is, accordingly, called *Rio Verde*. It is impoſſible to tell whence they derive this colour, which does not hinder them from being very wholſome and even palatable. This river falls into the Paraguay, about ſixty leagues above the Aſſumption. The Spaniards had built on its banks a town, called *Nueva Rioja*; but it ſubſiſted a very ſhort time. Another river of Chaco, called *Guayru*, which deſcends from the Chiriguan Cordilliere, and has its courſe between the Pilco Mayo and Rio Vermejo, though I cannot find it in the maps, has its waters very ſalt. Some of the Chaco rivers loſe themſelves

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in the boſom of the earth, like thoſe of Tuetman, which I have already mentioned.

There iſſues ſo great a number of them from the Cordilliere, that, on the thawing of the ſnow with which theſe mountains are covered, and the falling of the heavy rains, both which happen at one ſeaſon, they overflow to ſuch a degree, as to make part of Chaco look like a vaſt ſea, which is ſucceeded by a great number of lakes, that never dry up, and are well ſtocked with fiſh. Theſe inundations are ſo conſiderable, eſpecially near the mouths of the rivers which fall into the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, and often ſo ſudden, that the inhabitants are obliged to take to their pirogues, or climb up trees, and remain there till the waters fall, or they can find ſome other method of providing for their ſafety.

But theſe inconveniences are ſufficiently compenſated by the advantages flowing from the ſame ſource; for the waters are ſcarce retired, when the plains they covered appear like ſo many grand parterres, which, viewed from the neighbouring mountains, form a proſpect, that nothing, perhaps, in nature can compare with. What would it be then, if this fine country was inhabited by induſtrious people, well ſkilled in the methods of correcting the diſadvantages it labours under, and making the moſt of the advantages providence has beſtowed upon it? The preſent inhabitants of Chaco think they have done enough, when, after the inundations we have been ſpeaking of, they ſtir the earth a little. No doubt, even without this ſlight labour, it furniſhes them with reſources for their ſubſiſtence. The beſt fruits grow here in abundance; and fiſhing and hunting would, alone, be ſufficient to ſupport great numbers.

Part of this province is overgrown with vaſt foreſts, in ſome of which there is no water to be found,

found, but in the hollows of the trees, which form, as it were, ſo many reſervoirs of a very tranſparent and potable water. Naturally, the heats here ſhould be exceſſively intenſe; eſpecially as the air is, in itſelf, both warm and dry; but a ſouth wind, which blows regularly every day, tempers them greatly. In the ſouthern diſtrict, the weather is ſometimes very cold and nipping. Trees of the ſame kind with thoſe of Europe are pretty ſcarce here; but there are others no way inferior to the beſt we can boaſt of.

On the banks of a little river, called *Sinta*, there are cedars ſurpaſſing, in height, the talleſt we know of; and, near the ancient city of Gualdalcazar, which ſubſiſted but a ſhort time, there are whole foreſts of them, whoſe trunks meaſure above three fathoms, in circumference. The *Quinaquina* is very common here. It is a large tree, whoſe wood is red, ſweet ſcented, and yields an odoriferous roſin. The fruit is a bean, larger than thoſe of other trees of the ſame ſpecies, very hard, and medicinal. There are whole foreſts of palm trees, from eight to twelve leagues in extent. Thoſe, which grow on the Pilco Mayo, are as tall as the talleſt cedars. The pith or heart of this tree, dreſſed with marrow, eats very well. The *Rival* is a tree armed all over with pretty large and very hard thorns. The leaves of it chewed are deemed ſovereign in all complaints of the eyes. Its fruit is ſweet and agreeable. There are two ſpecies of *Gayoc*. The moſt eſteemed is that called by the Spaniards *Palo Santo*.

The number of ſimples found in Chaco is, in a manner, infinite; and father Locano ſcruples not to affirm, that ſpecifics have been diſcovered among them for every diſorder. Perhaps, we might, without any exaggeration, ſay the ſame thing of all the inhabited and habitable countries of the globe; for,

for, ſurely, there can be no difficulty in believing, that the author of nature has granted every climate the ſimple and natural remedies, which it ſtands in need of. Don't we every where ſee animals, conducted by mere inſtinct, have recourſe to them, in their wants, and uſe them with more ſucceſs, than man himſelf? And it is the ſame thing with the Indians; as if this inſtinct, by which brutes are ſo well governed in all parts of the world, came to the aſſiſtance of men deſtitute of the reſources of art; or, as if neceſſity rendered them more attentive to ſtudy nature, upon which art ſhould ground all its rules and principles. In ſhort, they make in Chaco, not only bread, but very good liquors, with ſeveral kinds of grain and other vegetable productions. But the Indians often abuſe this bleſſing, by making their liquors too ſtrong, and uſing it too freely, ſo as to fall into all the exceſſes, with which drunkenneſs is generally attended.

The fur of the lions of this country is red and very long. Theſe animals are ſo very gentle, or rather cowardly, that they fly at the barking of a dog, and ſuffer themſelves to be taken, when they have not time to get into a tree. As to the tygers, beſides the advantage of making the water as well as the earth contribute to their ſubſiſtence, they are as large, and at leaſt as fierce, as thoſe of Tucuman, but they loſe all their ſtrength on being wounded in the region of the loins. There are, in this province; ſix kinds of geeſe; all manner of tame fowl fit for the table; black and red goats as in Tucuman, and ſome white goats on the banks of the Pilco-Mayo; boars of two colours, grey and black, beſides hares, deer, oſtriches, and water wolves, the ſame as in the adjacent provinces.

What the Spaniards call the great beaſt, is the *Anta* or *Danta*, of which I have already ſaid ſomething;

thing; for, by father Locano's account of it, that of Chaco differs a little from that of which I have already given a deſcription, from father Montoya. This animal, father Locano tells us, has the head of a horſe; the ears of a mule; and on his ſnout, a trump, which he ſtretches out when threatened; the lips of a calf; ſharp teeth; a ſhort tail; and ſlender feet; the fore ones cloven in two, the hinder ones in three; two ſtomachs, one of which ſerves him for a ſtore houſe, where are ſometimes found pieces of rotten wood; and Bezoar ſtones, deemed the beſt of any that come from America. His ſkin, which is covered with long brown hair, when hardened in the ſun, and then dreſſed into buff, is impenetrable, even by muſket balls. As to his fleſh, it differs in nothing from beef. The hoof of the left fore foot has the ſame virtue with that attributed to the elke or orignal of Canada; and, accordingly, he makes the ſame uſe of it in the fits of the epilepſy, or ſome other ſuch diſorder, to which he is ſubject. We are aſſured, in fine, that, when he finds himſelf overſtocked with blood, he opens one of his veins with the point of a reed; and that it is from him the Indians have learned the uſe of the ſame operation.

The *Guanaco*, or *Huanaco*, known in England, whither two of them were brought from Buenos Ayres in the year 1723, by the name of *Wanotra*, which, it is probable, ſome other people of America give it, is common in Chaco, and yields Bezoar ſtones, that weigh three pounds and a half. The Indian, who firſt made the Spaniards acquainted with this animal, was for his pains, it is ſaid, put to death by his countrymen. This animal is a kind of diminutive camel; he has nothing amiſs about him but his ſaliva, which gives the itch, and which he caſts upon his purſuers. The Guanacoes are never ſeen, but in flocks, unleſs, perhaps, in deſart

ſart places. When they graze thus together, one of them always ſtands ſentry upon an eminence, to alarm the reſt, by a kind of neighing, of the approach of the hunters; when they all fly to places ſurrounded by precipices; the females with their young ones marching before them. The fleſh of the Guanaco is white; and though a little dry, tolerably well taſted.

THE other animals found in Chaco are the *Zorillo*, which does not appear to differ from the ſtinking beaſt of Canada; the *Capivara*, an amphibious creature ſhaped like a hog, the Indians are very fond of its fleſh, as well as that of the *Otter*, which is very common in this country, and has a very fine fur; the *Iguana*, which reſembles greatly that of Hiſpaniola; the *Quinquinchon*, which is ſhaped like a hog, and with his paws and his ſnout digs himſelf a hole in the earth of between three and four feet diameter, in which he hides himſelf. On his back, he carries a very hard ſhell by way of houſe, into which he occaſionally folds himſelf; and his belly is armed with ſcales, from which there grows very long and very thick hair. It is ſaid, that the Quinquinchon ſometimes lies down upon his back to receive the rain water, and remains in this poſture a whole day, till ſome thirſty deer comes to drink out of his ſhell; when he immediately ſeizes her by the lips, and ſo keeps her in ſpite of all her endeavours, till ſhe is ſtifled; when he feeds upon her. Some Engliſhmen preſented his britannic majeſty with two of theſe animals, alive, in the year 1728. The fleſh of the Quinquinchon has a pretty diſagreeable ſcent.

THERE is another ſpecies of this animal, called in Paraguay *Tatou*, and in Tucuman *Mulica*, or *Bulica*, which is, they tell us, when folded up within his ſhell, as round as a ball, with all the

ſcales

ſcales ſo curiouſly united, that not a ſingle ſeam can be diſcerned between them. The Tatou has no hair. His fleſh differs in nothing from that of a ſucking pig. There are, likewiſe, ſome of theſe creatures in Brazil, and the iſland of Granada. In fine, there is, in the vallies leading to Chaco, a ſpecies of ſheep, called *Llamaez*, which one would take for little camels, had they any lump on their backs. The Indians make uſe of them to carry burthens, though their march is ſo ſlow, that it is impoſſible to make them travel more than three leagues a day; and, if once they lie down with wearineſs, they permit themſelves to be killed rather than get up again with their burthen.

Some authors have affirmed, that Chaco does not produce any venomous animals. Yet it is certain, that ſeveral have been found there; but then antidotes are ſtill more common. The moſt ſovereign are viper's herb; and the contrayerva, both male and female. Father Locano imagines, that the viper's herb is the *Triſſago* of Dioſcorides. The other antidotes are the *Colmillo de Vibora*, or the *Solimon dela Tioſſa*; tobacco leaves; the ſtalk and ear of Maiz; the ſhank bone of a cow, broiled and applied to the wound, from which it falls of itſelf, when it has imbibed all the venom. The efficacy of this bone is greatly encreaſed by bathing it in milk and wine.

It would be very ſurprizing, if, in ſo fine a country, there were no bees. The foreſts are all ſo full of them, that, in ſeveral, there is ſcarce a ſingle tree without a colony of theſe precious inſects; ſo that, though the waſps carry on a conſtant and cruel war againſt them, this province alone could ſupply great part of America with wax and honey, of a ſuperior kind to thoſe of any other country we know of. Authors ſay nothing of the birds of Chaco, which, probably,

are the ſame with thoſe in the adjacent provinces The ſilence of hiſtorians, in regard to their notes, leaves room to believe, that here, as well as in every other part of the new world, this tribe of the animal creation does not charm the ears with its muſic, as much as it does the eyes by the vivacity and variety of its plumage.

To judge by the number of the nations in Chaco, of which father Locano gives us a liſt, one would be apt to conclude, that there is not a better inhabited country in the whole world. It is, indeed, more ſo, than any of thoſe which ſurround it, though very far from being as much ſo, as it ought to be, conſidering the fertility of its ſoil and the mildneſs of its climate; for, taking the nations inhabiting it one with another, there is not one of them numerous enough to form above three or four middling towns. This, after all, is not ſo ſurprizing, as, at firſt ſight, it may appear to be. Experience ſufficiently demonſtrates, that the countries moſt favoured by nature are not always thoſe, in which the human ſpecies multiplies faſteſt. The reaſon of this ſingularity is, no doubt, that the facility of living, in ſuch countries, with very little or no labour, renders men more idle and improvident; and more lawleſs; and, of courſe, more vicious, than they otherwiſe would be; whence it happens, that impatient of reſtraint, and giving way to their paſſions in every thing, they become wild and barbarous; keep up no ſociety with each other; and fall into greater exceſſes, of drunkenneſs eſpecially, from whence proceed quarrels and wars, by which more men periſh, than can poſſibly be born. And, accordingly, ſuch nations dwindle away in the moſt ſenſible manner.

Besides, a tradition of no very ancient date in this part of South America informs us, that the epidemical

epidemical diſtempers occaſioned by the corruption of the air in the neighbouring countries, in Tucuman eſpecially, having driven, from time to time, abundance of their inhabitants into this province, they brought with them contagions, with which the country, might otherwiſe, never have been viſited. For as to the Peruvians, whom the tyranny of their ſpaniſh maſters drove into Chaco, in greater numbers than into any other of the neighbouring countries; the tranſmigration of them could not but be attended with the loſs of a multitude of people. Beſides, the wandering life, which theſe fugitives muſt have led for a long time before they ſettled, was by no means favourable to their multiplication.

NOTHING proves better the ſtrange medley of nations in Chaco, than the difference in their manners and cuſtoms. It is true they reſemble each other in a great many things, but this reſemblance is the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch connections, as they cannot avoid having with each other; eſpecially in defence of their liberty againſt the Spaniards, who ſurround them on all ſides, and whom the beauty of this country, and the deſire of freeing themſelves from ſuch troubleſome neighbours, have engaged in the greateſt and moſt conſtant efforts to ſubdue them. Though I did not propoſe to enter into a minute detail of what particularly diſtinguiſhes them from one another, but as occaſion offered, I cannot prevail on myſelf to go any further, without relating what father Locano tells of two of theſe nations; it being ſo ſingular, that I ſhould not dare to mention it on any other teſtimony but that of this miſſionary, who, though he owns he had never ſeen them himſelf, adds, that he has all the proofs that can be reaſonably expected of their exiſtence.

THE firſt of theſe nations is the *Collus* or *Colluges*, and, in the Quitchoane language, *Suripchaquins*, which ſignifies oſtrich-feet. They have been called thus, becauſe their legs have no calf, and their feet, all to the heels, reſemble thoſe of the oſtrich. They are of an almoſt gigantic ſtature; ſo ſwift footed, that no horſe can keep up with them; and ſo very warlike, that, without any arms but lances, they have almoſt extirpated a nation called the *Polomas*, that was formerly very numerous. The ſecond of theſe nations have nothing monſtrous but their ſtatue, which is ſtill higher than that of the Colluges. What father Locano ſays of them is extracted from two letters of father Gaſpard Oſorio, who preached the goſpel to theſe Indians, and whoſe glorious martyrdom we ſhall relate hereafter; one to father Francis Truxillo, his provincial; the other to father Mutio Vetelleſchi, his general.

FATHER Oſorio does not name them, but juſt ſays, that he met them on the little river of Tarija, pretty near the ſpot, where ſtood the town of Guadalcazar, which I have already mentioned. After ſaying, that, with his hand raiſed to its utmoſt ſtretch, he could not reach the heads of theſe Indians; he adds, that what ſurprized him ſtill more was the delicacy and luxuriancy of their language, the nobleneſs of their ſentiments, the politeneſs of their manners, the ſprightlineſs of their genius, the penetration of their underſtanding, the modeſty of their behaviour, the prudence of their conduct, and their great bravery.

IN general, the inhabitants of Chaco are all of an advantageous ſtature; and there have been found men among them above ſeven feet high. Their featuers differ greatly from ours; and the colours, with which they paint themſelves, give them

them an aſpect, with which ſtrangers cannot, at firſt ſight, help being terrified a little. And, accordingly, they pretend by this means to ſtrike a terror into their enemies. A Spaniſh captain, who had ſerved with reputation in Europe, having been commanded againſt ſome Indians of Chaco, that lived pretty near Santafé, was ſo thunder-ſtruck with their appearance, that he fainted away. Moſt of the men go quite naked, all to a parcel of feathers, of different colours, hanging to a ſtring about their waſte. But, at their publick ſolemnities, they wear caps made of the ſame feathers. In very cold weather, they wrap themſelves up in a kind of cap and cloak made of ſkins pretty well dreſſed, and adorned with painted figures. Among ſome nations, the women are not better covered than the men.

THE bad qualities common to all theſe people are ferocity, inconſtancy, perfidy, and drunkenneſs. They are all ſprightly, though very dull of apprehenſion in every thing that does not fall immediately under the ſenſes. There is, properly ſpeaking, no form of government among them; every town, indeed, has its Cacique; but theſe chiefs have no authority, but in proportion to the eſteem they have acquired. Several do nothing but rove from place to place with their furniture, which conſiſts of nothing but a mat, a hammock, and a calebaſh. The cabins of thoſe, who live in towns, are, among ſeveral nations, no better than wretched hovels made with branches of trees, and covered with ſtraw or rather graſs. Thoſe who live neareſt to Tucuman are, it ſeems, better lodged and better clothed.

THEIR favourite liquor is the *Chica*, of which I have already made mention. They aſſemble to drink it, and to dance and ſing; and in theſe exerciſes they perſiſt, till they are all drunk. They

then quarrel; and from words ſoon proceed to blows, ſo that their merry makings ſeldom terminate without blood-ſhed, if not in the death of ſome of the gueſts. Several take advantage of the confuſion to be revenged of their enemies. Theſe exceſſes are almoſt peculiar to the men. The women, generally, withdraw, the moment they perceive the liquor begins to get the better of the men, and carry off with them all the arms they can lay their hands upon. A ſmall matter is ſufficient to breed a war between theſe nations; but their unconquerable inveteracy againſt the Spaniards eaſily unites them again, on the firſt alarm from that quarter.

ALMOST all theſe Indians are antropophagous, or men-eaters; have no other occupation but war and pillage, which they exerciſe with ſuch craft and obſtinacy, that they have rendered themſelves formidable to their neighbours, particularly the Spaniards, who don't chuſe to engage them, even when ſurprized, with equal arms; their courage, in that caſe, changing to fury. Nay, many of their women have been known, on ſuch occaſions, to ſell their lives at a very dear rate, rather than ſurrender to the beſt armed ſoldiers. When once they have reſolved to plunder a country ſeat, or village, there is no art they don't practice to lull the inhabitants into a fatal ſecurity, or get out of their way when they have ſtruck their blow. They will watch, for whole years, the opportunity of ſurprizing them without running any riſk. For this purpoſe, they have always ſpies abroad who never march but by night; when they make nothing of crawling along, if requiſite, on their elbows, which, for this reaſon, are always covered with a callus. Some Spaniards have been weak enough to think, that theſe ſpies, by ſome magic power, aſſumed the forms

forms of domeſtic animals, in order to examine what was doing in their houſes.

Their arms are bows and arrows; the mancana; and a kind of a well wrought lance or javelin, made of a very hard and very heavy wood, pretty thick, fifteen palms long, and terminating in a deer's horn, with a beard to it. This weapon they uſe with great ſtrength and dexterity; and by means of a rope to which it is faſtened, draw in the man it has wounded, unleſs he has reſolution enough to pull it out. They generally ſaw the necks of their priſoners with the jaw bone of a fiſh; and then pull off his ſcalp, which they preſerve as a monument of their victory, and diſplay in all their entertainments.

They are ſuch bold and able horſemen, that the Spaniards will repent, but once, their having ſo well ſtocked with horſes all theſe parts of the continent. Swift as theſe animals are, the Indians of Chaco ſtop them in full ſpeed; and vault upon them, no matter whether ſideways or from behind, without any aſſiſtance but that of their javelins, upon which they ſpring. They then, without ſtirrups or bridles, without any thing, in ſhort, but a halter, not only keep their ſeat, but turn the proud animal which way they pleaſe, and make him fly at ſuch a rate, as to leave behind them the beſt mounted Spaniards. As moſt of them go always naked, their ſkin is very hard. Father Locano aſſures us, he has ſeen the head of a Mocovi, the ſkin of which was half an inch thick.

The women of Chaco prick their faces breaſts and arms, like the Mooriſh women of Africa and Spain; they are very robuſt; bring forth with great eaſe; and, as ſoon as delivered, bathe themſelves and their children in the next lake or river. They are treated by their huſbands with great ſe-

verity, becauſe, perhaps, they are very much addicted to jealouſy, and have no manner of tenderneſs for their children. They bury their dead on the very ſpot where they expire; and plant a javelin over the grave, faſtening to it the ſkull of an enemy, eſpecially of a Spaniard, if they can get one. They then remove from the place; and even avoid paſſing by it, till the deceaſed is totally forgotten.

The greateſt obſtacles the Spaniards have met with in reducing the Indians of Chaco, and the miſſionaries in converting them, have been thrown in their way by the *Chiriguones*, a nation ſcattered over ſeveral diſtricts of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, las Charcas, and Chaco; and the moſt inveterate enemies of the Spaniards in this part of the world. For, though they have lately had allies among them, who proved very ſerviceable, they can never depend upon their aſſiſtance, but in proportion to their ability to command it; and this is no eaſy taſk. There is not, in all the ſouthern parts of America, a prouder, more treacherous, inconſtant, flinty hearted nation, than the Chiriguones; which, joined to their well founded apprehenſions of becoming ſlaves to the Spaniards by ſubmitting to the goſpel, would be ſufficient to make the miſſionaries loſe all hopes of ever reclaiming them, if they could think it lawful ever to deſpair of God's mercy.

By following the courſe of the red river, and turning towards the eaſt, we meet with ſeveral nations, who are tolerably peaceable, and attack nobody, though they all immediately unite for their common defence, as ſoon as any one of them is attacked. According to ſome, theſe nations received baptiſm ſoon after the arrival of the firſt Spaniards in this country; and then, on being perſecuted by them, removed to a greater diſtance.

They

They till the ground, and rear cattle; and there even prevail among them ſome of the practices of chriſtianity, eſpecially that of prayer for which their Caciques aſſemble them from time to time. In 1710, Don Eſtevan de Urizar concluded a treaty with them; and they preſerve the original draft of it to this day, as the palladium of their liberty againſt the Spaniards. One of the conditions of this treaty was, that miſſionaries ſhould be ſent to them but it has not been as yet poſſible to comply with it.

Don Andreas Hurtado de Mendoza, marquis of Cannette, and viceroy of Peru, was the firſt to attempt the reduction of Chaco. In 1556, he ſent there, for this purpoſe, captain Andreas Manſo, whom I have already mentioned, and who had ſerved with honour in the Peruvian wars. This officer advanced, without meeting any reſiſtance, as far as the extenſive plains between the Pilco Mayo and the red river; and had even began to build a town. But, one night, when, being no longer under any apprehenſions from the natives, he and his men were buried in ſleep without any centinels to guard the avenues to their camp, a party of the Chiriguones ruſhed into it, and murdered every ſoul of them. Theſe plains have ever ſince been called the plains of Manſo.

The town of Santafé, the foundation of which I have already related, was originally conſidered as a town of Chaco, becauſe it ſtood on the weſt banks of Rio de la Plata, to which ſeveral extend this province; but, having been removed ſince, it is now at too great a diſtance from the bounds which father Ocano gives Chaco at that ſide. Another town was built in Chaco, under the name of the *Conception*, on the banks of the red river, or rather a marſh formed by this river, thirty leagues above its fall into Rio de la Plata; but this

this town could ſcarce maintain itſelf in its primitive mediocrity for the ſpace of ſixty years; and even the ruins of it are now no longer diſcernible. There can be no ſtronger proof of the weakneſs of the Spaniards in Paraguay, than their not having been able to keep up this eſtabliſhment, which formed ſo fine a key into the heart of Chaco. In ſhort, it is with difficulty they now point out the ſpot, where ſtood the town of Guadalcazar that I have already mentioned, and which, likewiſe, they have been obliged to abandon.

FATHER LOCANO tells us, that, while Don Martin de Ledeſma was building this town, he could never penetrate as far as the *Chicas Orejones*, or the *Churumacas*, who lived to the weſt, in the valleys at the foot of the Cordilliere, though he could plainly diſcover the ſmoke of their villages, which could not, therefore, be more than ten or twelve leagues from his camp; the guide, he had often employed to conduct a ſtrong party there, having conſtantly led them aſtray; that having, one day, convicted him of his treachery, and bitterly reproached him with it, the fellow anſwered, that it was as much as his life was worth to ſhew the Spaniards the way to theſe villages: "But how comes it, ſaid Don Martin, that theſe people are ſo averſe to our paying them a viſit? for fear, anſwered the guide, that, if you once knew the road to them, you ſhould put them all to death as your predeceſſors did the Inca, in order to ſeize on his mines and his empire." The ſpy added, that the Chicas Orejones were thoſe, whom the Incas employed to work their mines, and ſecure the Cordilliere; and that, having heard the tragical end of the laſt Inca, they immediately took refuge among the Churumacas, who gave them a very favourable reception. Father Locano, likewiſe, informs us, that the ſame Chicas Orejones were deſcended from

from the noble Orejones of Peru, whom the Incas made uſe of to extend their conqueſts.

But let the Spaniards uſe what endeavours they will to reduce Chaco, they never will be able to effect it, till the inhabitants have ſubmitted to the goſpel; a thing impoſſible, as long as they abuſe a favour granted them by their catholic majeſties; and which it is hardly to be expected they ſhould ever ceaſe to abuſe, ſince all the power of theſe princes has not as yet been able to effect it, though it has occaſioned the death or deſertion of a great many new chriſtians, and formed an invincible obſtacle to the converſion of an infinite number of infidels. It is, therefore, neceſſary I ſhould explain the nature of this favour, before I reaſſume the thread of my narration.

The Spaniards, it ſeems, had parcelled out all the Indians, whom they had reduced by force or by fair means, into *Departments* or *Commandes*. Theſe commandes were granted to private perſons for a certain number of years, more or leſs, according to the rank or ſervices of ſuch perſons. This term expired, they devolved to the crown; and the governor of the province, in virtue of a power received for that purpoſe from the ſovereign, either employed ſuch devolved Indians, when requiſite, in the public works, or made them over to other private perſons, ſo that every adventurer partook in his turn of their ſervice. This ſervice conſiſted in their working for him for nothing, two months in the year, and paying him, out of what they could earn during the other ten months, a tribute of five pieces of eight, from which thoſe under eighteen, and above forty, were exempted. The fifth of this tribute was to be paid the pariſh prieſt for his ſalary. In return for this ſervice, thoſe who enjoyed it, called, in the ſpaniſh, *Encomenderos*, were to provide their Indians with every

every thing they wanted; to ſee that they were inſtructed in the principles and practice of the chriſtian religion; to uſe them well and treat them like children; for, in many reſpects, theſe Indians continue children during their whole lives.

But, as Charles V. foreſaw, that theſe regulations, alone, would never be ſufficient to protect the Indians againſt the exactions of their encomenderos, he ordered that officers ſhould be named to receive their complaints, and do them juſtice; with power to deprive of their departments thoſe, who ſhould be convicted of having made an ill uſe of them. But the wiſeſt precautions, and the ſevereſt laws, are a very weak barrier againſt avarice; eſpecially where the abſence of the ſovereign, and the facility of gaining over thoſe he has charged with the execution of his orders, afford any hopes of impunity; a truth rendered but too evident by the fate of theſe commandes; for no laws could be more wiſely deviſed or worſe executed, than thoſe made to regulate them.

Yet, all might have found their advantage in complying with theſe laws. The Indians might have been civilized, and contracted an affection to maſters who treated them as children; the king might have gained loyal ſubjects; and the encomenderos uſeful ſervants; as will hereafter appear evident beyond the power of contradiction. The church, too, might have acquired docile children. I may even affirm, without indulging conjecture too much, that all the inhabitants of this part of America would be at this day chriſtians, if thoſe in place had concurred with the miſſionaries, in endeavouring to make them reliſh the maxims of the goſpel. Whereas, conſidering the manner in which they were treated, it is no way ſurprizing, that the greateſt number of thoſe who embraced the chriſtian religion ſhould have afterwards

wards renounced it, as their encomenderos or their ſubſtitutes ſcarce ever gave them time to learn, or opportunity to obſerve, its precepts; and were ſtill more backward in giving them that good example, and treating them with that lenity, which was neceſſary to confirm what the miſſionaries ſaid to them of the mildneſs and holineſs of the goſpel. It is, therefore, no way ſtrange, that as many of them, as poſſibly could, have ſhaken off the yoke, and are ſince become the moſt dangerous enemies of their wicked and fooliſh taſk-maſters.

It is, likewiſe, certain, that in conſequence of the ſervices exacted from theſe ſlaves, for they are very ſeldom treated otherwiſe, their maſters have contracted ſuch a habit of lazineſs, that, as often as theſe poor creatures ſink under the weight of fatigue and ill uſage, or deſert to avoid it, they fall into a ſtate of indigence, which they know not either to bear or to mend. The daily examples of this misfortune are ſo far from making any impreſſion upon the Spaniards, that the abuſe of the departments has been conſtantly on the encreaſe, and is at laſt become ſo obſtinate, that the moſt preciſe and reiterated orders of the kings of Spain have not been able to put a ſtop to it. Nay, diſobedience to the orders of the ſovereign has been conſtrued into a preſcription; and it will plainly appear in the courſe of this hiſtory, that all the perſecutions excited againſt the Jeſuits of Paraguay; all the calumnies propagated againſt them; and all the prejudices theſe calumnies have left behind them in the minds of ſo many perſons; are intirely owing to the unſhaken reſolution of theſe fathers, in oppoſing every attempt to rob the Indians under their care, of the total exemption granted them by the kings of Spain, from all manner of perſonal ſervice to the Spaniards.

BOOK IV.

Port of Buenos Ayres reeſtabliſhed. Deſcription of it, and the neighbourhood. State of chriſtianity in Paraguay. Jeſuits enter it. Their labours to reclaim the Spaniards aud civilize and convert the Indians. Deſcription of the province of Guayra. The Jeſuits preach the goſpel there with great ſucceſs. Towns built. Jeſuits gain eſtabliſhments in ſeveral places; incur the diſpleaſure of the Spaniards, by endeavouring to protect the Indians againſt them in the enjoyment of their liberty.

1580-81. THE frequent loſs of ſhips coming from Spain, for want of a ſure port to receive them at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, having, at laſt, made the Spaniards thoroughly ſenſible of the neceſſity of having one; and the rebeing no room left for choice; a reſolution was taken to reeſtabliſh that of Buenos Ayres on the ſame ſpot, where Mendoza had, at firſt, placed it; but under the name of *the Trinity*, inſtead of its original one of *our lady of Buenos Ayres*; and omit nothing to ſecure it againſt any future attacks of the Indians in its neighbourhood. This was become the eaſier on account of the new eſtabliſhments formed in the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and Tucuman, capable of furniſhing ſuccours to awe theſe barbarians. However, the Spaniards no ſooner

ſooner ſet about the work, than the Indians prepared to attack them; but the adelantade, who had brought along with him ſome troops, and a great quantity of military ſtores, ſent againſt them Juan de Garay, who, after chaſtiſing them ſeverely in ſeveral rencounters, obliged them to remain quiet. The city was rebuilt on the ſame ſpot where Don Pedro de Mendoza, at firſt, placed it; but its firſt name, of *our lady*, was changed into that of *the trinity of Buenos Ayres*.

THIS city remained, for a long time, in a ſtate of poverty anſwerable to that of the province, of which it was both the key and the centre of commerce. I have already obſerved, that it is ſituated on the weſtern banks of Rio de la Plata, about two hundred miles from cape St. Mary, on a ſomewhat elevated point of land that runs into the river in a North direction; and in thirty five degrees thirty minutes South latitude, according to the lateſt obſervations. The city is ſeparated by a rivulet from the fortreſs, where the governor reſides. It is pretty large; and, for a long time, conſiſted of different quarters, with fields and orchards between them, though the houſes, which for the moſt part were built of earth, conſiſted of but one ſtory diſpoſed round an oblong court; and, conſequently took up the more room. Many of them received no day light, but by their doors. The reſt had but one window. But a lay brother jeſuit, called to this place about forty or fifty years ago to build the church of the college, having made bricks, and tiles, and lime, inſtructed the inhabitants in theſe uſeful arts, ſo that all the houſes built ſince that time are of ſtone or brick; and ſome of them two ſtories high.

Two other lay brother jeſuits, one a good architect, and the other a good maſon, and both from Italy, after finiſhing the college church, built that of

the fathers of Mercy, and the franciſcans, and the front of the cathedral; all which, it is pretended, might make a figure in the beſt cities of Spain. The magiſtrates had, likewiſe, engaged them to build a town houſe, but, having ſet out on too magnificent a plan for their funds, they found themſelves unable to accompliſh it. The city, however, ſoon began to wear another aſpect, in conſequence of theſe and other improvements; ſo that it is no wonder, if the travellers, who have viſited it ſince the period we are ſpeaking of, give us a much more favourable idea of it, than thoſe who paſſed this way before them.

At this period, the inhabitants were computed at ſixteen thouſand ſouls; one fourth whites; and the reſt negroes, Indians, and a mixt breed. It is by the labour of theſe negroes, who are by far the greateſt number, that the Spaniards live; for the Spaniards, here think it beneath them to exerciſe any manual employment. Thoſe even, who are but juſt landed from Spain, put every ſtitch they have brought with them upon their backs; and ſet up for gentlemen, above ſerving in any menial capacity. It is almoſt equally difficult to get any good from the free Indians, who paſs and repaſs through this town, the adjacent villages and country ſeats; and this their averſion to labour is owing to their having been overburthened with it, when included in the commandes and ſubject to perſonal ſervice. The cathedral is the pariſh church of the white inhabitants; the reſt have one, at one of the extremities of the city.

Buenos Ayres, in conſequence of its ſituation and its wholſome air, enjoys every advantage requiſite to make a flouriſhing city; and will, no doubt, flouriſh in proportion as Paraguay, which has no oſea port, becomes populous and the inhabitants of it laborious. Winter begins here in the month of June; ſpring

ſpring, in the month of September; ſummer, in December; and autumn, in March; and theſe four ſeaſons ſucceed each other very regularly. In winter, the rains are heavy, and attended with ſuch terrible thunder and lightening, that there is no ſuch thing as accuſtoming one ſelf to it. The heat of the ſun in ſummer is qualified by gentle breezes, which riſe regularly between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. One third of the houſes have a proſpect over an extenſive country clothed with a perpetual verdure; the other two thirds look over the river, which, to the North, appears like a great ſea, terminated only by the horizon. Fiſh is here in great abundance, eſpecially that which the Spaniards call *Peſche Reyes*, being a kind of Gurnard very common on the coaſts of Chili.

The fertility of the lands in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres is equal to the goodneſs of its air, ſo that, in theſe reſpects, nature has done every thing, to render it a moſt delightful place to live in. The country about it, however, has a naked look, the Spaniards having neglected to plant any trees in it. But, except in point of proſpect, this deficiency is little felt; as all the iſlands, with which the river is enameled at this place, are exceedingly well wooded. The only fruit-tree found in them is the peach tree; which, beſides producing excellent fruit, is ſo common, that they uſe its branches for the moſt common purpoſes. The vine has not, as yet, anſwered, for want of a method to deſtroy a kind of ants, which fall upon it the minute it begins to ſhoot, and gnaw it to the very root.

But the chief want, which not only Buenos Ayres, but every other part of that vaſt country generally comprehended under the name of Paraguay, for a long time laboured under, was that of men qualified to maintain the ancient chriſ-

tians in the regular exerciſe of their religion, as well as to draw the infidels over to it. We have ſeen, that the Emperor Charles V. had recommended nothing more earneſtly to the governors he ſent here, than that they ſhould take with them ſome prieſts both ſecular and regular; and ſupply them with every thing that could facilitate the execution of their office. Philip II, his ſon and ſucceſſor to the throne of Spain, took the ſame precautions; and the miſſionaries, the firſt of whom were of the order of St. Francis, omitted nothing to ſhew themſelves worthy of the confidence placed in them by theſe two great princes. But, though they baptiſed a great number of Indians, the frequent revolts of theſe people, whom the Spaniards did not always treat with ſufficient mildneſs, and the troubles, which almoſt conſtantly prevailed amongſt the Spaniards themſelves, for the firſt ſixty years after their arrival, proved a great obſtacle to the propagation of the goſpel.

TUCUMAN was, at firſt, much happier in this reſpect; for the Spaniards had ſcarce begun to ſettle in it, when Saint Francis Solano, and a great many other miſſionaries of his order, entered it on the ſide of Peru; viſited every part of it; and even penetrated very far into Chaco; ſcattering every where the ſeed of the goſpel, with all the ſucceſs which might naturally be expected from men headed by a ſaint, whoſe zeal knew no bounds; and whom God inveſted with the gift of miracles, to ſuch a degree, that the inhabitants conſidered him as ſomething more than a mortal being. But, as he was ſoon called back to Peru by his ſuperiors, his miſſion turned out like one of thoſe tranſitory clouds, which fertilize, for a time, the drieſt fields upon which they fall, and then leave them to relapſe into their former ſterility. Father Lewis de Bolanos, one of Saint Francis Solano's diſciples, and

and who, likewiſe, died in the odour of ſanctity, founded, among the Guaranis of Paraguay, a fervent colony of chriſtians, which he governed for a long time. He even tranſlated into their language a catechiſm, which I ſhall hereafter have ſome occaſion to mention; but, his ſuperiors having at laſt thought proper to recall him on account of his great age and infirmities, the little flock he had brought together, and with whom, it is probable, he could leave no paſtor of his own order, fell afterwards into the hands of the jeſuits; and, has ſince proved the germ, as it were, of theſe flouriſhing churches of the Parana and the Uraguay, whoſe happy progreſs we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to conſider. The good old man having heard of this happy event, a little before his death, it made him forget the great affliction he had long laboured under at the thoughts of having been obliged to abandon his dear children, whom he had engendered in Jeſus Chriſt.

Thus, therefore, the chriſtian religion was the thing in theſe provinces, which ſtood moſt in need of powerful aſſiſtance. The ſecular clergy were too few for the Spaniards alone, with whom they were entirely taken up. The regulars, fewer in themſelves, were ſtill more ſo, in proportion to the ſubjected Indians committed to their care, whom, beſides, the bad example and cruelty of their encomenderoes made it almoſt impoſſible to inſpire with any reliſh for the great truths of the goſpel. In ſhort, the biſhops of Paraguay and Tucuman were often reduced to the melancholy neceſſity of applying, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the kings of Spain, and their council of the Indies, for ſpiritual labourers to aſſiſt them in the diſcharge of their duty.

Tucuman, eſpecially, ſtood in the greateſt need of ſuch ſuccours. Many towns in it had not ſo

much as a ſingle clergyman. The children grew up without any inſtruction, and very often the ſick left the world without any ſpiritual aſſiſtance. Don Francis Victoria, of the order of Saint Dominic, biſhop of this dioceſe, which he governed for twelve years, did not find, on his arrival in it, a ſingle ſecular prieſt, and ſcarce any regulars, who could make the Indians underſtand them; ſo that he found himſelf, to his infinite ſorrow, obliged to lay aſide all thoughts of converting them. The jeſuits now began to be known in America; they had been, even upwards of thirty years, in Brazil, which father Joſeph Anchieta had filled with the odour of his holineſs, and the ſplendor of his miracles. They, had, likewiſe ſettled in Peru; and had already made in both theſe kingdoms an infinite number of converſions; ſo that every one publiſhed, that this new order, whoſe founder was born at the time Chriſtopher Columbus began to diſcover the new world, had received from heaven a ſpecial miſſion, and a particular grace, to eſtabliſh in it the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt.

This conſideration having determined the biſhop of Tucuman to get, coſt what it would, as many jeſuits as poſſible, into his dioceſe, he wrote, at the ſame time, to father Anchieta, and Father John Atienſa, both provincials of their company; the firſt, in Brazil; and the ſecond, in Peru; conjuring them, by the entrails of Jeſus Chriſt, not to refuſe him the aſſiſtance he ſo much wanted. Upon this, father Atienſa, the neareſt of the two, and moſt at hand to give him ſpeedy ſuccours, immediately ſent orders to father Francis Angulo, and father Alphonſo Barſena, then employed in the province of las Charcas, to repair immediately to Tucuman, with a lay brother, called John Villegas, who was to ſerve them in quality of catechiſt.

1586. Theſe fathers ſet out, the minute they received their provincial's letter; and arrived, in 1586, at Salta, where a ſingle prieſt had not been ſeen for four years that this town had been built. They were, therefore, received in it as angels deſcended from heaven. The inhabitants, even the moſt licentious, had not, as yet, ſtifled the remorſe of their conſcience, whoſe cries redoubled at the ſight of theſe apoſtolic men, and grew ſtill higher and higher, when they had heard them ſpeak. They all confeſſed their ſins; and then repaired to the holy myſteries, the privation of which had been the principal cauſe of all their libertiniſm. The fathers had equal reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Indians, whoſe language they pretty well underſtood, ſo that it was with the utmoſt regret they ſaw themſelves obliged to leave a place, where there appeared ſo fine a field to exerciſe their zeal, and ſo great a proſpect of its being attended with laſting ſucceſs. But they were, it ſeems, impatiently expected at Santiago. Having taken their road to it, by Eſteco, fifty leagues at this ſide of it, they there found the ſame call for their aſſiſtance, and the ſame diſpoſitions to benefit by it, as well in the Spaniards as in the Indians, many of whom had been baptiſed by Saint Francis Solano. However, they remained in Eſteco, but a month, having received a letter from the biſhop, which obliged them to ſet out directly for Santiago.

Don Juan Ramirez de Velasco, governor of Tucuman, was no leſs impatient to ſee them than Don Francis Victoria. As ſoon, therefore, as he had notice of their approach, he went out, on horſeback, with the nobility and officers of the garriſon, to meet them. The inhabitants ſtrewed with flowers, and adorned with triumphal arches, the ſtreets through which they were to paſs. The biſhop, who had ordered a ſolemn thanksgiving for their

happy arrival, embraced them tenderly, with tears in his eyes; and, ſeeing them fall proſtrate at his feet, to implore his bleſſing, took them up; conducted them, in proceſſion, to the cathedral; complimented them there in terms, which greatly ſhocked their modeſty; gave out the *Te deum*, which was ſung by his clergy; and, afterwards, led them to his own houſe, where he inſiſted upon lodging them. If apoſtolic men ſometimes find themſelves in circumſtances, in which the great maſter who ſends them thinks proper they ſhould be received like his miniſters; he oftener gives them occaſion to conſider themſelves as his diſciples; ſo as to make them remember all the ignominies of his paſſion, which ſo ſoon ſucceeded his triumphant entry into Jeruſalem. This the jeſuits who firſt entered Paraguay and their ſucceſſors have never loſt ſight of; and they have found their advantage in it.

SANTIAGO, at this time, contained five hundred families; and the country about it, which is very delightful, beſides being well peopled with Indians, was every day filling with new Spaniſh ſettlements. Yet, the biſhop had but five ſecular, and a few regular, prieſts, that he could depend upon; ſo that he ſaw himſelf conſtantly obliged to go through the moſt laborious part of the church duty, though he often ſunk under the burden of it. Here, therefore, the new miſſionaries found ample matter to employ their zeal. Though they could not but conſider themſelves as more particularly ſent to the Indians, they thought it their duty to do ſomething, firſt, for the Spaniards; as, beſides their being domeſtics of the faith, example could not but greatly haſten or retard the progreſs of their operations among the Neophytes and the Infidels. They divided their whole time between preaching, hearing confeſſions; viſiting the ſick; and private conferences; borrowing from their ſleep what was re-

requiſite for the ſaying of their breviary and other exerciſes of devotion. The Spaniards liſtened to them with ſuch reſpect; and applied to them with ſuch confidence; that the place ſoon wore a different aſpect; the ſtreets and houſes reſounding both day and night, with ſpiritual canticles. The biſhop contributed ſo zealouſly to the ſucceſs of their labours, not only by precept but example, that the joy with which his heart overflowed could alone, ſupport him under ſo many fatigues.

The Indians had next their turn. Father Angulo was perfect maſter of the Quitchoane language, current among them; and Father Barſena had learned that, which was peculiar to them; ſo that both were in a condition to be underſtood by them all. The reſpect and confidence, of which the Spaniards gave them the ſincereſt demonſtrations, inſpired the natives with ſuch an opinion of them, that they all flocked about them in crowds, whoſe holy importunities the miſſionaries themſelves were ſurprized at their being able to anſwer. After ſome time ſpent in this manner, father Angulo thought proper, that Father Barſena ſhould return to Eſteco, with a ſecular prieſt named to the pariſh of that place, in order to aſſiſt him; and, likewiſe, begin a miſſion among the Indians of its diſtrict, who lived in fifty hamlets, at a conſiderable diſtance one from the other, and ſeparated by mountains and marſhes, which rendered the communication between them very diſagreeable and difficult.

An apoſtate and vagabond monk had appeared, ſome time before, among theſe Indians; and, though he could not know a ſingle word of their language, had baptiſed a great number of them, who thus became chriſtians, without knowing what chriſtianity was; and profaned the holineſs of the character they had received, by continuing to practiſe their ancient ſuperſtitions, and follow the bent of their

brutal appetites. Theſe the miſſionary thought beſt intitled to his firſt labours; and, in the ſpace of nine months that he ſpent in viſiting their hamlets with brother Villegas, he not only made true chriſtians of them, but added to their number between ſix and ſeven thouſand well inſtructed and very fervent Neophytes. He flattered himſelf with being able to extend his ſpiritual conqueſts ſtill further, when the biſhop called him back to Santiago, in order to ſend him, with Father Angulo, to Corduba, where they met with ſuch ſucceſs amongſt the Spaniards of the town, and Indians of the neighbourhood, as ſurpaſſed their own hopes and thoſe of the prelate.

In the mean time, a reinforcement of Jeſuits arrived at Corduba from Brazil. It conſiſted of the Fathers, Leonard Armenio, an Italian; Juan Salonio, of Valencia in Spain; Thomas Filds, a Scotchman; Stephen de Grao, a Portugueſe; and Emmanuel de Ortega, another Portugueſe trained up to an apoſtolic life under the famous Father Anchieta. Father Armenio, the ſuperior of them, on his arrival at Corduba, repreſented to the miſſionaries he found there contrary to his expectation, that, as Tucuman could be more eaſily ſupplied with miſſionaries from Peru, than from Brazil, where, beſides, there was more work, than Portugal could ſupply a ſufficient number of labourers for; and, as this mixture of Spaniſh and Portugueſe miſſions would not, perhaps, be approved by the courts of Madrid and Liſbon, though theſe two kingdoms were united under one ſovereign, he was reſolved to return to Brazil, but without obliging any body to follow him; and, accordingly, Father de Grao was the only perſon, who did not chuſe to ſeparate from him. Father Ortega remained at Corduba, with Father Barſena; and Father Angulo took Father Salonio and Father Filds with him to Santiago.

When

1588. When Don Jerom Lewis de Cabrera founded the city of Corduba, there were no leſs than forty thouſand Indians in the diſtrict he aſſigned it; but this number ſoon began to leſſen. The Spaniards behaved with ſo much barbarity towards theſe unhappy creatures, whom fear alone had brought under ſubjection to them, that many periſhed with grief and fatigue; and many more deſerted. The ſhorteſt way to retain thoſe who remained, and make them wiſh to be inſtructed in the myſteries of the chriſtian religion, was by gentleneſs and by preſents; ſo that the poverty of the two miſſionaries, not permitting them to uſe the latter, they were obliged to employ an extraordinary degree of the former.

Several infidels had been, likewiſe, baptiſed in this country, without any previous inſtruction. The Spaniards would fain appear zealous to propagate the goſpel, while they were really doing all that lay in their power to ſtop its progreſs. The firſt thing, therefore, the miſſionaries did, was to convince the Neophytes of what their maſters ſhould have begun by telling them, that we muſt not judge of the chriſtian religion by the conduct of thoſe who profeſs it; and in this they ſucceeded beyond their expectation, ſo that, in leſs than ſix months, all the neighbourhood of Corduba was peopled with catechumens.

After ſome other excurſions made by the new miſſionaries, which, joined to their former labours, ingratiated them ſo much with Don Francis Victoria, that he appointed Father Barſena his vicar general, with an unlimited power. The Fathers, Solanio, de Ortega, and Filds, repaired to the Aſſumption, at the requeſt of the biſhop of that place; were received there with the ſame honours that had been paid to Father Barſena and Father Angulo at Santiago; and exerted themſelves equally to the advantage

tage of both Spaniards and natives; ſo that, in the ſpace of three months, neither were to be known for the ſame men. They then turned their views upon the eaſtern Guayra. But, as it was not proper they ſhould all leave the capital together, Father Salonio continued in it, whilſt the two others embarked on the Paraguay for that country.

After ſailing for ſome time on the Paraguay, they landed on the right ſhore, and travelled, a foot, one hundred and fifty leagues before they reached its neareſt towns. This country, probably, derives its name from that of the Guaranis who inhabit it, they being often called Guayranis.

These Indians lived in towns, that were pretty populous, and the Caciques of which, by being hereditary, and independent one on the other, had a great deal of authority over their ſubjects. Sometimes, however, as it happens in all nations more addicted to the arts of war than thoſe of peace, private perſons acquired this rank by their valour; and not ſeldom by a ſingular facility in ſpeaking well the language of the country, which, according to Father Montoya, who was perfect maſter of it, yields, in nothing, to any of the fineſt we are acquainted with. The chief prerogatives enjoyed by the Caciques conſiſted in a right to the labour of their ſubjects, for the purpoſes of agriculture; and the uſe of their daughters when they required it.

At the death of a Cacique, it was lawful for one of his brothers to marry the widow; but this ſeldom happened. In general, theſe Indians did not approve ſuch marriages between near relations; and the men among them, who have embraced the chriſtian religion, never marry any of their relations, even within thoſe degrees with which the church readily diſpenſes. But the Caciques could have more wives than one. As to their religion,

they

they acknowledge but one God; for if they expreſſed any veneration for the bones of their jugglers whom they had ſeen perform ſuch things in their life time, as, in their opinion, ſurpaſſed the ſtrength of nature, they by no means conſidered them as divinities, though the ſpecies of worſhip they paid them, differed but little from that, which other nations pay their idols. They never, however, offered any ſacrifices to God, nor could any regular form of worſhip be diſcovered among them.

They reckoned their years by winters, but ſeldom went beyond ten without commiting a miſtake. They judged of its being time to riſe when the pleiades began to make their appearance above the horizon. They imagined there was a tiger and a great dog in the heavens, which devoured the moon and the ſun, as often as theſe luminaries happened to be eclipſed; and ſuch events greatly alarmed them. The huſbands, on their wives being brought to bed, obſerved, for the ſpace of fifteen dars, a rigourous faſt; and neither hunted nor converſed with any one during that time, firmly believing, that the child's life depended on their punctual complying with this cuſtom. They uſed a kind of baptiſm; but authors have not given us any ſatisfactory account of it. But the ceremonies they obſerved, in giving names to their new born children, will beſt ſerve to give us a juſt idea of the ſavageneſs of this nation. Thinking it unlawful to perform this ceremony, without the death of a priſoner of war, they deferred it till they could make one. After entertaining him plentifully for ſeveral days, and even giving him his choice of as many young girls or grown up women as he thought proper, they cut his throat on the day appointed for that purpoſe, with great ceremony. As ſoon as he was dead, every one touched his body

body, or ſtruck it with a ſtick; and during, this operation, they gave names to all the children that had not as yet received any. This done, the body was cut up; and every family took home a piece of it to make into broth, of which every one took a mouthful, not excpting children at the breaſt, whom their mothers took care to make partakers of this helliſh repaſt.

THEIR manner of receiving perſons returned from a long journey had ſomething very odd in it. The traveller, on entering his cabin, immediately ſeated himſelf, without uttering a ſingle ſyllable; and, the next moment, the women began to walk round and round him, obſerving, all the time, the ſame ſilence, till, at laſt, they ſuddenly burſt out into exclamations, which were followed by a long relation of all the diſagreeable events that had happened in his family during his abſence; the men, covering their faces, repeated the ſame things with a low voice; and this ceremony laſted a longer or ſhorter time in proportion to the eſteem they had for the traveller. At laſt, they all congratulated him on his happy arrival, and entertained him in the beſt manner they were able.

THE women, on the death of their huſbands, uſed to throw themſelves from ſome eminence high enough to cripple them for the remainder of their lives. The Indians believed, that the ſoul, on its leaving the body, never wandered at any great diſtance from it, but kept it company in the grave, where they, accordingly, left a vacancy for it to reſide in. The firſt who embraced the goſpel could ſcarce be prevailed upon to renounce this practice; and chriſtian women have been pretty often diſcovered going privately to the graves of their children or huſbands, in order to ſift the mould over them, as their ſouls, they ſaid, would be too much burthened without this precaution.

WHEN

When a girl was old enough to be married, they put her into the hands of a woman, who, for eight days together, employed her in the moſt laborious taſks; fed her very ill; and, withal, never gave her a moment's reſt. By her manner of bearing this tryal, they judged if ſhe was laborious, and otherwiſe qualified to undertake the care of a family. At the expiration of this term, they cut off her hair; decked her out with all the ornaments the ſex is ſo fond of; and declared her marriageable. It would have been criminal in a young woman to keep company with a man before ſhe had paſſed through this tryal; or, at leaſt, ſhe muſt have done it very privately to eſcape puniſhment.

The Guaranis placed great faith in certain men, who, at once, acted the part of fortune tellers and phyſicians, pretending to draw certain informations of what was to happen from the ſinging of birds, and to have received from heaven the power of curing all manner of diſeaſes. Their whole quackery, however, conſiſted in ſucking the part afflicted, and then pretending to extract from it ſomething, which they had the precaution of taking into their mouths before they went to work, but produced, with the greateſt aſſurance, as the cauſe of all the patient's illneſs, whoſe imagination they greatly calmed by this ſtratagem. This, no doubt, was doing a great deal. Beſides, they never worried their patients with drugs and operations, ſo that, if they did not aſſiſt nature, neither did they obſtruct her; and if they did not cure, neither did they kill, their patients. The Guaranis had likewiſe, their conjurers, who boaſted a power of killing whoever they thought proper; and had, in fact, ſo far bewitched numbers as to make them believe, that ſeveral had been carried off by the ſecret power of their incantations; ſo that it was ſometimes enough for a man to have an enemy, to be ſeized with a panic,

and

and even die of it, if he had not wherewith to bribe these impostors.

The province inhabited by the Guaranis, of whom we have been speaking, for there are other Guaranis, as we said before, dispersed almost all over this part of South America, resembling, more or less, in manners and customs the nations among whom they are settled; the original province of Guayra, I mean, to which Father Salonio and Father Filds were now travelling, is almost equally divided by the tropic of Capricorn; and is bounded, to the East, by Brazil; to the North, by a very low and wet country covered with trees, but as yet very little known, though very populous; to the South, by the Uruguay; and to the West, by the Paraguay, though between the Guaranis and this last river there are several nations, most of whom live a wandering life. The weather of Guayra is almost every where unequal and inconstant; the air, in general, unwholsome; and accordingly, fevers are very common here. It naturally produces several fruits, as the guembé, the grenadilla, and dates of a very bitter taste. All the plains and low lands are very fertile in pulse, roots, manioc, maiz, and other plants, which require little culture. It, likewise, abounds with many trees fit for building, particularly cedar, and every other species of pine and fir, in whose hollows honey and wax are found in great abundance. As to animals, it has all those already mentioned in the general description of Paraguay. To conclude, this province is watered by several rivers, the most considerable of which, next to the Parana, are the *Parapané*, which receives several other smaller ones; and the *Guibay*, upon which formerly stood Villarica, pretty near its discharge into the Parana, to which all the other rivers of this province are tributary.

THERE are certain ſtones in the province of Guayra, which for ſome years were greatly cried up. They are found, at a conſiderable diſtance under the ſurface of the earth, incloſed in a very hard cruſt of an oval figure. It is aſſured, that, when they have acquired their proper ſize, they ſhiver their covering to pieces, with a report equal to that made by a bomb in burſting, and iſſue forth in the form of a tranſparent ſtone with a very fine luſtre. But they are not all of one colour. Some are green, ſome of a violet colour, but moſt of them red. There is ſo much regularity, and, at the ſame time, ſo much variety in their form, that one can hardly be perſuaded that they are the work of nature. But all their beauty is ſuperficial; for, at bottom, they are of no more value than thoſe found in the country of Liege. The Spaniards, however, were at firſt ſo much deceived by their luſtre, that ſeveral had well nigh thrown up their ſettlements to carry quantities of them into Spain, thinking to make their fortunes by them. And, in fact, as ſoon as the news of this diſcovery reached that kingdom, it was given out, that Paraguay was full of amethyſts, carbuncles, and emeralds. But none were deceived except ſuch, as made moſt haſte to be firſt at market.

THE guembé, which I mentioned, is an oblong fruit, pointed at both ends, and a palm in breadth. It is full of little yellowiſh grains, which taſte very ſweet when only ſucked, but, when broke between the teeth, throw out a juice, whoſe bitterneſs is not to be ſupported. It appears that the plant bearing this fruit is a kind of bean, which faſtens upon trees, and grows to a great height. The grains of this fruit when they happen to fall upon the bark of a rotten tree, immediately ſhoot out into threads, which, falling to the ground, immediately take root there, and produce plants of the ſame ſpecies.

I SAID that the dates of this country are bitter; notwithſtanding which, ſome authors pretend, that they make wine of them, and a very nouriſhing kind of broth. The palm trees, which bear them, and are to be found at every ſtep, are a great reſource to diſtreſſed travellers, as the pith of them is both palatable and nouriſhing.

THE wild bears of Guayra, as well as of ſome other parts of Paraguay, have their navels on their backs; but, perhaps, it has not been obſerved any where elſe, this part muſt be cut off the moment the beaſt is dead, as, otherwiſe, it would ſoon infect the whole carcaſe. It is not leſs ſurprizing, that, though the honey of this province is excellent, no means have been hitherto found to bleach the wax found along with it.

SUCH was the country, where Father Filds and Father de Ortega undertook to preach Jeſus Chriſt. They, firſt, repaired to Ciudad Real, where they learned, on their arrival, that not a ſingle prieſt had been ſeen there for ſeveral years paſt; and, accordingly, they met with many inhabitants, who had ſcarce any thing chriſtian about them but the name. After employing a whole month in catechiſing, preaching, and hearing confeſſions, in order to prepare them to partake worthily of the holy myſteries, they ſet out for Villarica, where the inhabitants laboured under the ſame ſpiritual diſtreſs; and they had the comfort of adminiſtring equal relief to them. This done, they viſited the Indian towns and villages, which were, in a more particular manner, the object of their miſſion, and followed the wandering Guaranis through their foreſts, and over their mountains. Having ſpent ſeveral months in theſe excurſions, they returned, by their ſuperior Father Salonio's orders, to the Aſſumption, with the glad tidings, that they had left behind them two hundred

dred thouſand Indians, quite ripe for the kingdom of Chriſt.

1589. THE plague now raged to a great degree in this capital, and had even gained the adjoining ſettlements. But, though it carried off numbers, three jeſuits exerted themſelves ſo much, that none died without confeſſion; and, during the nine months it laſted, nine thouſand moribond Indians received baptiſm. In the mean time, Father de Ortega having received notice, that, thirty leagues beyond Villarica, there were a great number of wandering Guaranis, who had been formerly baptized, but who did not even know what baptiſm was, and, beſides, greatly moleſted the Spaniards, he ſet out in queſt of them; and, having at laſt met them, made them ſenſible of the obligations they had contracted in receiving that ſacrament. He then repaired to Villarica, whoſe commandant, being deſirous to gain over a great Indian town in the neighbourhood, concluded with great reaſon, that the beſt way to do it was to make chriſtians of its inhabitants. He found no difficulty in prevailing on the miſſionary to join him in an expedition for that purpoſe. Father de Ortega inſtructed and baptized four hundred of the inhabitants in a very ſhort time; but, at laſt, when he leaſt ſuſpected it, providentially diſcovered a conſpiracy formed againſt his own and the governor's life, which obliged them to retire with ſome precipitation. The Indians who waited on the governor, having remained behind, paid for their maſter's eſcape, and were all murdered.

FATHER de Ortega, at his return to Villarica, found there Father Fiids, who was come to bring him back to the Aſſumption by Father Salonio's orders; but the Spaniards and the Neophytes would not conſent to part with them; and, on their ſuperior, to whom a courier was immediately diſ-

patched for that purpoſe, conſenting to their ſtay, they immediately built a houſe and a chapel for them. In the mean time, a revolt, which broke out among the Calchaquis, contributed greatly to make the inhabitants of Tucuman conſider the new miſſionaries as men equally uſeful to ſecure the repoſe of the Spaniards in theſe provinces, and eſtabliſh the chriſtian religion among the natives. There are in this continent two nations known by the name of Calchaquis, who, though they now live at a conſiderable diſtance aſunder, originally formed but one, which, for a long time, was entirely confined to one of the vallies between the mountains of Peru, to the Weſt of Salta, which to this day retains the name of *the valley of Calchaqui*. Theſe barbarians, had, for ſeveral years, proved very troubleſome neighbours to the Spaniards, till, at length, Don Alphonſo Mercado and Villacorta, being for the ſecond time governor of Tucuman, defeated them in 1565, when part of them fled towards Buenos Ayres, where their poſterity ſtill remains. The reſt were tranſported to the frontiers of Chaco, and given in command.

1589-90. But the laſt, unable to bear any longer the drudgery of the perſonal ſervice required from them, mutinied, and took refuge in the mountains, from whence they made frequent excurſions into the Spaniſh ſettlements. Don Juan Ramirez de Velaſco, ſucceſſor to Don Alphonſo, undertook to force them in their ſtrong holds; or, at leaſt, oblige them to remain quiet; and invited Father Barſena to accompany him in the expedition. The miſſionary conſented in hopes of meeting with ſome opportunity of preaching Jeſus Chriſt to them; nor was he entirely diſappointed.

The governor, being but little acquainted with the coutry, in a ſhort time found himſelf engaged in ſome defiles, where the enemy had the precaution to place a ſtrong party; and was in the utmoſt danger of being cut off with all his troops, when Father Barſena undertook to extricate him. For this purpoſe, he ſet out, alone, for the place where the Calchaquis were poſted; and having happily reached them at the top of a high mountain, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to intercept him, he ſurpriſed them ſo much by his boldneſs, that they gazed on him like ſo many ſtatues. In the mean time, he addreſſed them with ſo much mildneſs, and in ſo engaging a manner, that he ſoon prevailed upon them not to moleſt the Spaniards any longer; promiſing, on his ſide, that, as long as they remained quiet, the Spaniards ſhould never attempt to give them the leaſt diſturbance.

Not ſatisfied with this ſucceſs, he remained with them ſometime longer for the nobler purpoſe of ſcattering the ſeed of the goſpel amongſt them; after which he ſet out for the country of the Indians called Lulles, among whom he expected to find the ſpiritual harveſt in great forwardneſs, as ſome of them had been civilized and baptiſed by Saint Francis Solano, though, on being cruelly treated by the Spaniards to whom they had been given in command, they diſperſed again. It is probable, the Calchaquis ſet out for their valley ſoon after his departure; at leaſt, we ſhall find them there in the courſe of this hiſtory.

Of all the barbarians of the new world, theſe Lulles were, perhaps, the moſt barbarous, ſince the women amongſt them, though ever willing to give their breaſts to puppies that happen to have loſt their dam, cannot be prevailed to give them the one to the offspring of another, ſo that it is a common thing amongſt them, when a woman happens to

die with a child at her breaſt, to bury it along with her, for want of ſome other woman to give it ſuck. To this want of the feelings moſt common to man and beaſt, they added the greateſt averſion for any kind of reſtraint; for, though they had their caciques like other nations, they allowed them no authority but in time of war, when it was impoſſible to do without them. At other times, every man was his own maſter; even the fathers of families had no more power than any other perſon belonging to it. Their marriages were no way binding; the leaſt whim was ſufficient to part huſband and wife, and the children paid no obedience to either. Proſtitution, moreover, and artificial abortions were conſidered as indifferent actions; a girl's title to a huſband never ſuffered by her deſtroying the unhappy fruit of her diſorders; and, accordingly, an univerſal diſſoluteneſs of manners prevailed, even among the youngeſt members of this ſtrange nation. People of this character are not made to live in ſociety; and, accordingly, every family lived apart, never uniting but to celebrate ſome feſtivals, which they did with rites which modeſty forbids us to mention; and in defence of their liberty, the only thing they are jealous of; ſo that they never attack any one on any other account.

The country inhabited by the Lulles is ſo dry, that for ſeveral months together they have no water, but what they receive directly from the clouds; or find in water melons, whoſe ſeeds they ſow in great plenty; and in a certain root they call *Yacol*, which ſupplies them with large quantities of that uſeful element. The fleſh of this root is white, and has a very agreeable taſte; at leaſt, they think ſo.

Such was the nation, which Father Barſena flattered himſelf with being able to gain over to the goſpel, on his hearing that there were already

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ſome chriſtians among them; and he, accordingly, entered their country with that zeal, which had been ſo ſucceſsful among others, when Father Juan Fonté, a new ſuperior lately arrived from Peru with Father Baptiſte Agnaſco, recalled him to Tucuman on the report of his health and his ſtrength being greatly impaired, and the Lulles having, beſides, conſpired to take away his life. He was, afterwards, ordered to halt at St. Michael, which lay in his way, while the ſuperior himſelf, with Father Angulo his predeceſſor, took up his poſt near the Red River in the diſtrict of the Conception.

It was the adelantade Don Alphonſo de Vera, who had formed the project of this miſſion, with a view of collecting, in the neighbourhood of this city, as many of the natives of Chaco, as he poſſibly could, in order to form them into towns, and by that means facilitate their total converſion. Nothing could be better contrived than this plan; and, if it had been purſued, half the inhabitants of Chaco would have been chriſtians theſe ſeveral years paſt. But the great ſcarcity of miſſionaries, and, ſtill more, the ſcandalous lives of the ancient chriſtians, their avarice and their cruelty, made it miſcarry, in ſpite of all the Adelantade could do to make it ſucceed. The Indians neareſt to the Conception were a roving nation, called *Frontones* by the Spaniards, from a cuſtom they have of plucking up, by the roots, all the hair on the fore part of their heads, ſo as to make their foreheads appear higher by one half than they really are.

Of the ſeveral tribes compoſing this nation, the leaſt barbarous were the *Mataras* or *Mataranes*; and it was by them, chiefly, the adelantade intended to begin his laudable ſcheme of ſecuring the friendſhip of all the Indians ſubject to his government, by the bonds of religion, in as much as ſeveral of them had been already baptized, probably by St.

Francis Solano, or ſome of the companions of his apoſtleſhip; though there ſcarce remained among them the leaſt traces of the chriſtian religion.

1590. Don Alphonſo de Vera gave the miſſionaries a very kind reception; but, as he was in haſte to have all the Mataranes chriſtians, he could not be ſatisfied with their preſence; and, therefore, entreated father Fonté to ſend for the Fathers Agnaſco and Barſena. It is incredible, what anumber of ſouls theſe four labourers gained over to Jeſus Chriſt in leſs than twelve months, though a great part of it was neceſſarily ſpent in learning their language. This ſucceſs determined them to penetrate further into this barbarous country. But, on the repreſentations of the Spaniards, that the people they intended to go in queſt of were no way diſpoſed to receive them, it was reſolved that Father Fonté and Father Angulo ſhould ſtay behind. Don Alphonſo ordered a party of ſoldiers, commanded by his brother Don Francis de Vera, to eſcort the other two, in ſpite of all they could ſay to prevent it; for they apprehended that this precaution would ſpoil all their meaſures; and it happened accordingly. The *Mogoſnas*, the moſt unſettled and diſſolute nation among the Frontones, artfully ſurprized this detachment; and murdered every ſoul of them, their commander not excepted; upon which, the adelantade being reſolved to revenge his brother's death, a war enſued, which deprived the miſſionaries of all hopes of ſucceeding in their undertaking, and made them ſet out in ſearch of ſome other opportunity to exerciſe their functions to advantage. Accordingly, after making ſome excurſions in the neighbourhood of the Conception without finding any nation diſpoſed to liſten to them, they croſſed the Rio de la Plata, and marched along the banks of it to *Saint John de Corrientes*, a little town lately founded juſt above

above the confluence of the Paraguay and the Parana, where the Spaniards and ſome Indians in the neighbourhood had invited them, and amply rewarded their trouble in coming, by making the proper uſe of their ſtay amongſt them.

1593. In the mean time, the provincial of the jeſuits of Peru recalled Father Fonté; and ſent Father Romero to ſucceed him as ſuperior in Paraguay; and, along with him, the Fathers Gaſpar de Monroy, Juan Viana, and Marcello Lorencana. The firſt thing Father Romero did on his arrival in Tucuman, was to give up a piece of ground, that had been made a preſent of to his predeceſſor near Salta, for the ſubſiſtence of the miſſionaries of the company who had no other funds to depend upon. His reaſons for taking this ſtep were; firſt, that his religious were too few to ſettle in any place, and make any thing of ſuch an acquiſition; and, ſecondly, this piece of ground could not be turned to any account, but by procuring Indians to cultivate it; and he did not chuſe to authorize, by his example, the crying abuſe of perſonal ſervices. He then thought proper to diſtribute his miſſionaries among thoſe places, where he imagined their labours might be attended with moſt ſucceſs. He ordered the Fathers de Ortega and Filds to remain among the Guaranis; ſent the Fathers Angulo and Viana to Santiago; and named the Fathers Agnaſco and de Monroy for an expedition among the *Omaguacas*, a nation eſtabliſhed on tha frontiers of Tucuman and Peru. As to himſelf, he fixed upon no particular place, in order to be always the readier to run where ever his aſſiſtance might be moſt wanting.

The *Omaguacas* were a very fierce and ſavage people, who, after receiving the goſpel, and ſubmitting to the crown of Spain, had renounced Jeſus Chriſt; thrown off the ſpaniſh yoke; murdered their

miſſionaries; maſſacred all the Spaniards they could lay their hands on; twice deſtroyed the town of Jujuy; and, for thirty years paſt, were perpetually making irruptions into this part of Tucuman, which, in conſequence of their depredations, was become a mere deſart. To oppoſe a dyke to this torrent, the governor of the province reſolved to begin by rebuilding the town of Jujuy, and putting it, to the beſt of his power, in a reſpectable condition. Don Franciſco de Arganerez, whom he had charged with this commiſſion, after ſufficiently juſtifying the choice that had beenmade of him, took the field; rendered the Spaniards, in their turn, formidable to the Omaguacas; diſpoſed the Indians to receive miſſionaries; and reſtored tranquility to the province, not only on this ſide, but on that of Chaco.

It was two years, however, before he could truſt to their mercy the miſſionaries commiſſioned to bring back theſe Indians to the worſhip of the true God; but they had enough to do elſewhere, during this interval. On the other hand, the Fathers Barſena and Lorencana no ſooner arrived at the Aſſumption, than they embarked on the Paraguay, in order to remount that river, and eſtabliſh a miſſion as far to the north as itwas poſſible. They ſpent four months in this voyage; and had ſo much reaſon to be ſatisfied with the docility of the Indians they viſited, that, though, by the time they got back to the Aſſumption, they were quite exhauſted with ſickneſs and fatigue, they would have ſet out immediately, to finiſh what they had ſo happily begun, if Father Romero, who was already arrived there, had not detained them.

Father Romero's errand to the Aſſumption was to examine, in perſon, what ſervices could be done to religion in the province of Rio de la Plata; and he intended to make but a very ſhort ſtay in it. But he ſoon found more work on his hands than he

he, at firſt, expected. This, however, he had no reaſon to repent. All his enterprizes for the ſalvation of ſouls were crowned with ſucceſs. But that, which moſt endeared him to the inhabitants, was his reconciling the ſecular clergy of the dioceſe, with the vicar general who governed it while the ſee was vacant, at a time that the miſunderſtanding between them was on the point of breaking out into a ſcandalous rupture. He, afterwards, made ſome excurſions into the towns of the Guaranis, that lay neareſt to the city; and acquired the affection of the Indians to ſuch a degree, that, at his return to the Aſſumption, the inhabitants vied with each other, who ſhould give him the firſt and greateſt marks of the higheſt eſteem and the ſincereſt confidence. The nobility, moreover, and the magiſtrates, taking it into their ſerious conſideration, what they might reaſonably expect from ſix or ſeven religions, who, though they had ſcarce time to ſhew themſelves in theſe provinces, had ſo intirely changed the face of them in regard to religion and good manners, thought, that, in order never to want ſuch valuable labourers, they could not do better than give them a ſolid eſtabliſhment in the capital.

After deliberating, therefore, on this affair, without their knowledge, they took a reſolution to write to the king, the general of the company, and the provincial of Peru, to obtain their conſent for erecting a college of Jeſuits at the Aſſumption, and a ſufficient number of religious to fill all the charges of one. They even went further. For, as they made no doubt of receiving a favourable anſwer to their letters, they immediately bought, with the public money, a ſpot of ground for a houſe and a church to ſtand upon; and father Romero, in ſpite of his reluctance to accept of an eſtabliſhment, as he judged it rather premature,

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was obliged to comply, till the further pleaſure of his catholic majeſty, and of his general, ſhould be known. The work, therefore, was immediately ſet about. The inhabitants, the women of the beſt families not excepted, would put a hand to it; and they ſpared no expence, though the ſuperior did all that lay in his power to moderate their zeal. The only anſwer he could obtain to all his repreſentations was, that what they did, they did it for Jeſus Chriſt; and, of courſe, ought not to be afraid of doing too much. At length, the houſe was finiſhed in 1595; and, though the church ſtill wanted ſomething, the bleſſed ſacrament was placed there in a decent and becoming manner.

1594-5. THIS great liking to the Jeſuits was chiefly owing to the facility, with which they were known to handle the minds of the moſt untractable of thoſe Indians who ſurrounded the Spaniards; and againſt whom all force, and all fair means tried by any other mediators, had been hitherto found a very weak defence. The Indians, on the other hand, flattered themſelves, that the Spaniards might be prevailed upon by men, for whom they expreſſed ſo much eſteem, to treat them better than they had hitherto done. This, their own intereſt ſhould have engaged the Spaniards to do; for paſt experience had ſufficiently proved, that the only way to eſtabliſh themſelves ſolidly among ſo many nations, jealous of their liberty, was to better their condition. But ſuch was their infatuation, that, in a ſhort time, they began to think ill of thoſe very men, whom they had ſo lately been crying up to the ſkies, as patterns of every virtue; and that merely for pleading the cauſe of thoſe Indians, without whoſe friendſhip, as will afterwards appear, it was impoſſible for the Spaniards to live in the country.

FATHER

Father Monroy, with a lay-brother Jeſuit, called Juan de Toledo, had, at length, reached the Omaguacas, and found ſo little difficulty in gaining their attention, that five towns ſoon applied for inſtruction, and were ſpeedily followed by ſo many others, that nothing now remained, in order to eſtabliſh the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt among the Omaguacas, but to reduce one of their Caciques, called Piltipicon, who, having been baptized in his infancy, had renounced the goſpel, and rendered the Spaniards all the evil he pretended to have received from them; maſſacring their prieſts; burning their churches; and ravaging their ſettlements. Father Monroy, therefore, armed with all that confidence which Jeſus Chriſt has ſo much recommended to the preachers of his goſpel, reſolved to reduce, if poſſible, this terrible Cacique; and ſet out, alone, to confer with him. As ſoon as he came into the chief's preſence, he told him, that the good wiſhes he entertained for his real happineſs had made him deſpiſe the terrors of an almoſt certain death, in order to engage him to think ſeriouſly of his welfare. "But, then, added he, you cannot expect much honour by taking away the life of a naked man. If, contrary to my expectation, you will conſent to liſten to me, all the advantage of our converſation will be yours; whereas, if I die by your hands, an immortal crown in heaven will be my reward."

Piltipicon was ſo amazed, or rather ſoftened by the miſſionary's boldneſs, that he preſented him with a kind of beer, which the Omaguaca women make with Maiz well ground between their teeth; and, however nauſeous this liquor appeared to the miſſionary, he drank ſome of it. He then aſked Piltipicon's leave to penetrate further into the country to preach Jeſus Chriſt, with ſome proviſions for his journey. Piltipicon civilly

civilly granted every thing he aſked; and the miſſionary found every where the ſame docility he had hitherto experienced, and made the ſame ſucceſsful uſe of it. He afterwards returned to Piltipicon; and managed him ſo dexterouſly, that he prevailed upon him to make peace with the Spaniards on conditions, which he firſt ſettled, and the governor of Tucuman afterwards ratified and confirmed.

1596. THE news of this treaty filled the province with joy, and procured father Monroy, from every quarter, praiſes and thanks, to which, however, he was altogether inſenſible, as, while the Cacique refuſed to return under the yoke of the goſpel, he could entertain no reaſonable hopes of being able to convert all his nation. It was not long, before a report prevailed, that Piltipicon thought nothing of the peace to which he had ſworn, and had even conſpired with another apoſtate Cacique, to ruin, a third time, the town of Jujuy; and, though this report had no foundation, the governor of Jujuy thought proper to put it out of the power of the Caciques to hurt him; and having then found means to draw them into the place, ſecured their perſons.

THIS was enough to render the Omaguacas irreconcileable; but father Agnaſco, who very fortunately happened to be then at Jujuy, and father Monroy, who haſtened back to it, on the firſt notice he received of the governor's behaviour, repaired all the miſchief that had been done. The two priſoners were ſet at liberty; kindly uſed by the inhabitants; and, after ſome friendly conferences with the governor, terminated all differences by a ſincere return to the goſpel. The whole nation ſoon followed their example. Soon after, the miſſionaries, thinking it abſolutely requiſite to remove them from that part of the country they

now

now occupied, as it could not be reaſonably expected they ſhould long remain there without their neighbours attempting to ſeduce them; the new chriſtians conſented to this tranſmigration with more readineſs than could at firſt be well expected from them; and followed their ſpiritual fathers to a ſpot nearer Tucuman, where a zealous ſecular prieſt, who underſtood their language perfectly well, was appointed to govern them.

THIS event was ſoon followed by the deaths of father Barſena, in Peru; and father Salonio, at the Aſſumption; the loſs of whom was immediately felt, though their places were ſoon filled up by others; the call for evangelical labourers encreaſing in theſe provinces, in a much greater proportion, than it was poſſible to ſupply it. That of Guayra, eſpecially, was become, from day to day, more diſpoſed to receive the goſpel, through the indefatigable zeal of Father Filds and Father de Ortega, who, for eight years paſt, could almoſt number their days by the flocks of infidels they brought home to the fold of the ſovereign paſtor of ſouls. It is true, this ſucceſs coſt them ſuch labour and fatigue, as one would be apt to imagine, far exceeded the ſtrength of the human frame. The journeys, alone, which they were often obliged to undertake in queſt of the infidels, were ſufficient to damp any zeal leſs than that which animated them. Of this truth the following is a ſtriking inſtance.

As Father de Ortega was once croſſing, in company with his catechiſt, and ſome Neophytes and Catechumens, a plain between two rivers, of which one falls into the Paraguay, and the other into the Parana, both ſuddenly ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that all the lands between them became, almoſt inſtantaneouſly, one vaſt ſea. Nothing, they ſay, is more

more common in this country, than ſuch ſudden inundations; which are, moreover, too irregular to admit of any precaution being taken againſt them. The miſſionary, therefore, was not much ſurprized at the preſent; and thought he might eſcape, by travelling, for ſome time, up to his waiſt in water, as he had often before been obliged to do; but he ſoon loſt ground; and was forced, in order to ſave his life, to climb up a tree. The Indians, who accompanied him, did the ſame; but, as they had not precaution enough to chuſe the higheſt trees, the water ſoon reached them. The Father, more fortunate or provident, was ſafe enough upon his, with his catechiſt, when the cries of his children, who were endeavouring to faſten upon the higheſt branches, and were exhauſted with fatigue, pierced him to the heart.

THE waters ſtill continued to ſwell; and, as the travellers had no proviſions about them, they were in the moſt evident danger, either of periſhing with hunger, or dropping, through faintneſs, into the water, and being drowned. While the miſſionary was making theſe melancholy reflections, there came on a ſhower attended with thunder and lightning, and a very impetuous wind, which contributed greatly to increaſe the horrors of their dreadful ſituation. Beſides, the ſurface of the water was covered with tigers, lions, and ſeveral other ravenous beaſts; and even ſerpents and vipers, which the inundation had likewiſe ſurprized. At length, one of theſe reptiles, of an enormous ſize, faſtened u ono ne of the branches of the tree, where Father de Ortega was perched; and the miſſionary every minute expected to be devoured by the monſter; when, the branch it was on happily breaking, it fell back into the water, and turned another way.

THE travellers had now been two days in this dreadful ſituation, the ſtorm continuing all the time,

time, and the waters riſing rather than falling; when, about midnight, the miſſionary perceived, by means of the flaſhes that filled the heavens, one of his Indians ſwimming towards him by the ſame light; and crying out, as ſoon as he was near enough to be heard, that three Catechumens and three chriſtians were on the point of expiring; and moſt earneſtly requeſted his aſſiſtance. Upon this, Father de Ortega, having firſt tied his catechiſt to the tree, the poor man being no longer in a condition to ſupport himſelf, and then confeſſed him, threw himſelf into the water to follow the Indian who came to call him; and, in ſpite of the waves, and the branches of trees, moſt of them covered all over with thorns, one of which ran quite through his thigh, he reached the catechumens, whom he found hanging by their arms to the branches; he baptized them in that poſture; and, the next moment, had the mortification of ſeeing them fall into the water, where it was impoſſible to ſave them from drowning. He then haſtened to the three Neophytes, two of whom periſhed a few moments after.

HAVING thus performed his office, he ſet out for his tree, and got to it very ſeaſonably for his catechiſt, who had now the water up to his neck. He immediately untied the poor man, and helped him as well as he could to a higher branch. That very evening the waters began to ſubſide; and, as ſoon as the Father could put his foot on the ground, he ſet out to viſit his fellow travellers that he had left alive. In the mean time, his thigh, where the thorn ſtill remained, had ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that, after he had taken a few ſteps, the Indians were obliged to carry him to Villarica to be dreſſed; but he got there too late to expect a perfect cure; ſo that, after two and twenty years that he ſurvived this accident, his wound, which could never be per-

perfectly cloſed, gave him, from time to time, the greateſt uneaſineſs. He ſoon, however, reſumed his functions; and was called back with Father Filds to the Aſſumption, where Father Lorencana, who had remained alone there, could no longer anſwer all the calls of the inhabitants.

Father Romero, in the mean time, during eighteen months that he ſpent at Santafé, had endeared himſelf greatly to both Spaniards and Indians; and ſo much to the former, that they wrote to the provincial of the Jeſuits in Peru, to offer him a houſe in their town. But, though there arrived, the year following, a new reinforcement of miſſionaries from that kingdom, it was not poſſible to fix any of them there. The ſuperior, who had repaired to Tucuman to receive the new miſſionaries, undertook in company with Father John Dario, an Italian, and brother John Rodriguez, a miſſion in the city of Corduba. Though the inhabitants, at firſt, treated them very coolly, on account of ſome umbrage they had taken at them; on knowing them better, they offered them a houſe and a chapel very conveniently ſituated; and, ſoon after, the magiſtrates, finding that the chapel was too ſmall to contain the crowds that flocked to it, ordered the plan of a church to be traced out, and immediately put men to work at the foundation. The Indians in the neighbourhood, who had been inſtructed by the Fathers de Ortega and Barſena, being informed by Father Romero and his companions, who went to pay them a viſit, that a church was now building at Corduba, large enough to receive them, when there ſhould be no miſſionaries to ſend to them, immediately offered to tranſport all the materials neceſſary to finiſh it; and their offer being accepted, it was ſoon happily finiſhed.

1600. FATHER Romero made no ſtay at Corduba; but ſet out, with Father Monroy, to carry the light of the goſpel among the *Diaguites*, who live near the ſouthern extremity of Tucuman. Theſe Indians, leſs addicted to drunkenneſs than their neighbours, had conceived a very great eſteem for the jeſuits, of whom they had heard, among other things, that they did all that lay in their power to hinder the Indians from being ill uſed; and this happy prevention had given hopes to a ſpaniſh gentleman, called John de Abreu, whoſe father had been governor of Tucuman, that, if he made his appearance among them, along with the Fathers of the company, he would find it an eaſy matter to civilize them. The miſſionaries, on their ſide, who knew but little of the language of theſe people, or the road to their country, were overjoyed to find, in a man of his rank both a guide, and an interpreter, that could not fail of rendering their miniſtry ſtill more reſpectable. And it happened accordingly. They were almoſt every where very well received, and very attentively liſtened to, till the king's lieutenant at Salta interfered with their labours, through a falſe zeal for the welfare of his ſpaniſh fellow ſubjects.

1601. THIS officer, (who had, it is probable, received from the governor of the province a general order, to engage all the new chriſtians to acknowledge the king of Spain for their ſovereign,) having heard of the many converſions wrought among the Diaguites, imagined he ſhould find no difficulty in making them conſent to every thing preſcribed them in the name, and for the ſervice, of his majeſty. He, therefore, ordered them, without any further ceremony, to ſend a certain number of labourers to Salta. This proceeding both ſurprized and exaſperated the Diaguites to

ſuch a degree, that the fathers, after ſome parleys with them to very little purpoſe, thought it prudent to retire to Corduba till a more favourable opportunity.

1602. The next year, Father Paez having arrived at Salta, with a commiſſion from the general of the jeſuits to viſit all the houſes of his order in this part of the world, he immediately after his arrival, called together all the miſſiontaries diſperſed over the province of Tucuman, and that of Rio de la Plata, which ſtill comprehended the diſtrict ſince ſeparated from it by the name of the province of Paraguay. After conferring ſeparately with every one of them, he aſſembled them in council, in order to fix, in concert with them, upon ſome uniform method to be obſerved in preaching the goſpel to ſo many different and diſtant nations; as uniform a method, at leaſt, as the ſituation of places, and other circumſtances would admit.

He began by telling them, that he did not approve their rambling miſſions from one extremity of thoſe vaſt provinces to another, as little ſtreſs, he thought, could be laid on rapid converſions; which, beſides, their being too often the fruit of a ſudden emotion, it was impoſſible to perfect, in the ſmall ſpace of time allowed for them; that of this there was a very ſtriking inſtance in the apoſtleſhip of the holy Father Francis Solano, ſtill living, of whoſe labours, though he had viſited every part of Tucuman, and a great part of Chaco, and converted in both a vaſt number of infidels, there ſcarce remained any traces, on account of his having no where made any fixed ſettlement. He then obſerved, that it was with the ſeed of the goſpel, as with that committed to the earth, which, after being ſown, required ſeveral other operations, and

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the moſt conſtant attention, before the produce of it could be gathered into the barn.

Though thoſe, to whom this diſcourſe was addreſſed, were, in the main, of the ſame opinion with Father Paez, they could not, among other things, help repreſenting to him, that it was their duty to go wherever the biſhops, or thoſe who governed the vacant dioceſes, required them; that, beſides, perſons engaged in this way of life were not always maſters of themſelves, but obliged to follow the ſecret impulſes of providence for the ſalvation of certain predeſtinated ſouls; that their courſes were, moreover, authorized by the many miracles wrought by Father Francis Solano in his tranſitions from place to place; and that, after all, the miſſions they had made were very far from being uſeleſs, ſince they had thereby acquired a ſufficient knowledge of the country, and of the various diſpoſitions of the ſeveral nations, to whom they were to preach the goſpel. Each, after this, propoſed what he thought was beſt to be done, conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs in the vaſt country, where they had undertaken to eſtabliſh the chriſtian religion on the ruins of idolatry.

The viſiter then drew up ſome regulations for the conduct of his brethren in theſe provinces. The firſt was, to leave to the jeſuits of Brazil all the country to the eaſt of the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, as that kingdom lay more convenient, and was more in a condition than Peru, to ſupply it with miſſionaries; and ſuch miſſionaries would, beſides, come there maſters of the language moſt current among the inhabitants. This project no ſooner got wind, than all the Spaniards of Tucuman approved it, and moſt of the towns wrote to the general of the company for jeſuits, with offers to build and endow colleges for them.

But it was quite otherwiſe at the Aſſumption, which, as we have ſeen, ſtands on the eaſtern banks of the Paraguay. The departure of the jeſuits eſtabliſhed there, in order to wait on the viſiter at Salta, was very variouſly interpreted. All imagined, they were gone never to return again; and ſome ſhewed, by their tears and their complaints, how ſincerely concerned they were to loſe them, whilſt the greateſt number broke out into invectives, from which the behaviour of theſe religious might, one would imagine, have been ſufficient to exempt them. The latter gave out, that the members of this new inſtitute took no delight in poor colonies; and could only ſettle in countries that were rich in themſelves, or lay near enough to Peru, to be enriched by it; that, if their zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls was ſincere, they would not turn their backs upon a country, in which they might expect to find more opportunities, than in any other, of exerciſing it to advantage, and in which nothing had been omitted to give them proofs of the moſt entire confidence; that, after all, the promiſe, with which they amuſed the inhabitants of the Aſſumption of ſending them Portugueſe Jeſuits, was but a mere pretext, being highly improbable, that the royal council of the Indies ſhould admit into the ſtates of his catholic majeſty, miſſionaries that were not his natural born ſubjects; or the crown of Liſbon take upon itſelf the charge of ſupplying with miſſionaries a country, which did not belong to it. This was a difficulty, upon which, however obvious, Father Paez, it ſeems, had not, at firſt, ſufficiently reflected. However, though he did not immediately yield to the firſt remonſtrances againſt this part of his plan, he took no ſteps to carry it into execution; and by that means afforded his brethren an opportunity of making him obſerve,

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before it was too late, the ill conſequences that might attend it.

In the mean time, Father de Ortega received orders to repair to Lima, at five hundred leagues diſtance, and ſurrender himſelf to the ſupreme inquiſition of Peru; and, though his laſt journey of no leſs than three hundred leagues, which he had been obliged to travel to reach Salta, had conſiderably encreaſed his pains, he immediately ſet out. But neither his prompt obedience, nor his apoſtolical labours in Brazil and Paraguay, could hinder his being ſhut up, on his arrival, in the priſon of the holy office. We may well imagine, that the news of this event aſtoniſhed all thoſe, who knew any thing of his indefatigable zeal. They could not conceive, that a man, who had done ſo many heroic things in the exerciſe of his miniſtry, and in whoſe favour heaven had declared itſelf by ſeveral miracles, could deſerve to be treated like a criminal, eſpecially in his preſent weak ſtate of health. He could not himſelf gueſs what he was accuſed of. However, the known integrity of the tribunal, which treated him with ſo much rigour, and the ſilence obſerved by the ſervant of God himſelf in ſo mortifying a ſituation, hindered the public from pronouncing him innocent.

He lay five months in priſon, without being accuſed of any thing; his judges ſtill expecting, that he would accuſe himſelf, which, as his conſcience reproached him with nothing, it was impoſſible for him to do. At the expiration of this term, his ſuperiors obtained leave to take him home, on condition that they ſhould deliver him up again when called for; and, in the mean time, not permit him to go out of their houſe, or ſay maſs, or ſee any perſons but thoſe of his own order; and in this con-

dition he ſpent two years. At length, an act arrived from Paraguay, which fully juſtified him. This was a retractation judicially made, before ſeveral witneſſes who had ſigned it, by an inhabitant of Villarica, who had accuſed him of having revealed his confeſſion, but now declared, on his death bed, that is was a mere calumny, invented to puniſh the holy man, for refuſing to abſolve him but on conditions, with which, however wiſe and juſt, he was not willing to comply.

The preſident of the Inquiſition no ſooner received this writing, than he, in the moſt ſolemn manner, publiſhed Father de Ortega's innocence, and reſtored him to all his rights and privileges. Soon after, Don Gaſpar Zunida, viceroy of Peru, caſthis eyes upon him as the fitteſt man, in the world, to ſend to his troubleſome and dangerous neighbours the Chiriguanes, who had lately applied to him for miſſionaries, and he, therefore, imagined were, at laſt, ſincerely diſpoſed to embrace the goſpel. Though Father de Ortega conſidered this application as no better than a ſtratagem to gain time, in order to renew, with greater vigour, their hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, he thought proper to comply with Don Gaſpar's requeſt; and immediately ſet out for that country, with Father Villarnao, another jeſuit; and ſpent two years among them; when his ſuperiors, finding that his zeal was thrown away upon them; and that, beſides, he was quite broke down with fatigue, they ordered him to la Plata, where he died, about the year 1624, in an extreme old age. After he had abandoned the Chiriguanes, Father Auguſtin Fabio, a Franciſcan, attended by a lay brother, and ſome other Spaniards, entered their mountains by the valley of Tarija, and was happy enough to make ſome converſions, and even build a church among them. But, during a journey he was obliged to make to la Plata, theſe barbarians

barians maſſacred all the Spaniards he had brought with him; drove his lay brother out of the country; and ſo effectually ſhut up all the avenues to their mountains, that Father Fabio could never get among them again.

End of the Fourth Book.

BOOK V.

Jeſuits invited back to the Aſſumption; eſtabliſhed at Buenos Ayres. Freſh quarrels between the Spaniards and them, touching the liberty of the Indians, notſtanding the conditions on which the Jeſuits formed ſettlements amongſt both. King of Spain interpoſes his authority in favour of the latter. Guaranis civilized and converted in great numbers by the jeſuits; and formed into towns, called reductions, under the care of theſe Fathers, but ſubject to the crown of Spain, which accordingly ſupports the meaſures taken by the jeſuits. Deſcription of the reductions. Biſhop of Buenos Ayres viſits them. His letter on the occaſion to the king of Spain.

1604. NOtwithſtanding all the invectives ſpread againſt the jeſuits at the Aſſumption, the Magiſtrates of that capital, and the vicar general of the dioceſe, had written to the general of the company to complain of Father Paez; and, ſoon after, the new biſhop of the Aſſumption, Don Martin Ignatius de Loyola, formerly of the order of St. Francis, and nephew to the Saint of that name, wrote to Father Romero, that, had he known the jeſuits would abandon his dioceſe, he never would have accepted the government of it; and, therefore, requeſted him to ſend them back directly; otherwiſe, he would apply to his general; and, if requiſite, to his catholic majeſty; and even

even the Pope, to make him comply; and he was, it ſeems, ſo much in earneſt, that he wrote to the general, before he could get Father Romero's anſwer. This, however, proved an unneceſſary trouble, as Father Romero, who could never reliſh Father Paez's ſyſtem, had already ſent him Father Lorencana and Father Joſeph Cateldino; and, ſoon after, had the pleaſure of finding what he had thus done through his own diſcretion, recommended to him by his general and his provincial.

These two miſſionaries immediately ſet out by water for the Aſſumption; but were wrecked in the paſſage; and, after narrowly eſcaping being drowned, through the boldneſs and affection of their Indian companions, who reſcued them from the waves with the greateſt difficulty, and at the hazard of their own lives, they were on the point of periſhing with hunger, when they providentially diſcovered the biſhop going down the river to Buenos Ayres. This prelate, who little expected to meet thoſe he ſo much longed for, embraced them tenderly; entertained them in the beſt manner he was able; gave them one of his barks loaded with proviſions, to continue their journey; and, at parting, conferred on them all the power he could to the utmoſt limits of his juriſdiction, which as yet extended to the ſea. The inhabitants of the Aſſumption received them, likewiſe, with the greateſt reſpect and affection. But it was not long before they met with ſome of thoſe contradictions, which Jeſus Chriſt ordered his apoſtles to conſider as a ſure mark of their being his ſervants.

They had, it ſeems, declared too openly in favour of the Indians, and againſt the abuſe the Spaniards made of the commandes, to enjoy much longer the good will and confidence of thoſe, whom the moſt alarming experience could not convince, how much it was their intereſt to treat the natives of

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the country in a more gentle and equitable manner. But what is to the laſt degree ſurprizing, their diſlike broke out on occaſion of an event, which ſhould have produced a quite contrary effect. Some Indians, who were ſettled on the banks of the Paraguay, and had been given in command, roſe up, and maſſacred ſeveral Spaniards. The news of this having reached the capital in the governor's abſence, the officer, who commanded in his place, ſet out with a party of ſoldiers to chaſtize them. But changing his mind on the road, for what reaſon we are not told, he fell upon ſome other Indians, whom he found unarmed, though they were allies to the Spaniards, and had always been faithful to them; treated them like enemies; loaded a great number of them with chains; led them, as it were, in triumph to the capital; and ſold them for ſlaves to the beſt bidder.

FATHER LORENCANA thought himſelf bound not to paſs over in ſilence ſo crying an act of injuſtice; and, finding that his private remonſtrances to the ſellers and the buyers of the pretended captives, made no impreſſion on them, got into the pulpit; and openly threatened them with the anger of heaven, if they did not immediately ſet the poor Indians at liberty. Upon this, the treaſurer of the cathedral, who happened to be preſent, ſilenced him directly, and commanded him to leave the church. Father Lorencana obeyed without betraying the leaſt concern; and this unexpected moderation ſtruck the audience ſo much, that a buzz of indignation immediately aroſe among them againſt the treaſurer, who, troubled and confounded at this mark of their diſapprobation, could ſcarce compoſe himſelf enough to own publickly, that he had done wrong to inſult an honeſt man, barely for being bold enough to do his duty.

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This confeſſion, extorted perhaps by fear, was ſucceeded by violent agitations, which hindered him from enjoying, by day or night, a moment's repoſe; and terminated in convulſions, ſavouring of madneſs, in which he expired. Other ſhocking circumſtances were related of his tragical end, which, though I dare not aver them, as being founded merely on popular report, were ſo firmly believed by the multitude, that this event contributed more to the enlargement of the captives, than the moſt pathetic exhortations of the miſſionaries. But, though this affair terminated, in appearance, to the advantage of the Jeſuits, it was not long before they diſcovered in the minds of the inhabitants a leaven of diſlike, which has been ever ſince conſtantly fermenting; and has, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, often ſhewed itſelf by the moſt ſurprizing effects.

1605-7. Two or three years after this happened, Father Diego de Torrez arrived from Rome, in quality of Provincial of Chili and Paraguay; and, as he came by the way of Peru, viſited, on his road, the Omaguacas, that had been already converted to the faith; and paſſed through Jujuy and Salta, whoſe inhabitants applied to him for colleges. But, though he brought a reinforcement of fifteen Jeſuits with him, he had not enough for that purpoſe; and was, therefore, obliged to excuſe himſelf from complying with their requeſt, till the arrival of another ſupply of ſpiritual recruits. From Salta, he repaired with his flock to Santiago, where Don Francis Treco, the biſhop; Don Francis de Ribera, the governor of the province; and, in a word, all the inhabitants received them with the greateſt teſtimonies of reſpect and affection. The biſhop, in particular, among many other obliging things, publicly declared in his cathedral, that, had the report lately

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ſpread of the company's intentions to abandon theſe provinces proved true, he would have renounced his biſhoprick, to ſave himſelf the concern, of ſeeing periſh, for want of ſpiritual aſſiſtance, ſo many ſouls purchaſed with the precious blood of Jeſus Chriſt. The biſhop had the more reaſon to ſpeak in this manner, as the provincial, in preſenting his children to him, told him, that it was the general's intention, that they ſhould be intirely at his diſpoſal.

1608. THE year after this, eight Jeſuits, ſent by the general of their order, and defrayed by the king Spain, landed at Buenos Ayres, where the inhabitants, apprized of their coming, had expected them with the greateſt impatience, and retained ſome of them with a view of founding a college. This port, it ſeems, had already begun to flouriſh by commerce; for, though the king of Spain had not opened it for ſtrangers, ſeveral foreign veſſels put in there from time to time, as if driven by ſtreſs of weather, or upon ſome ſuch other pretext; were well received; and carried on a trade equally beneficial to themſelves and the inhabitants.

ALL this time, the Indians neareſt to the city, many of whom were of almoſt gigantic ſtature, continued in their primitive ſavageneſs; killing without mercy all the Spaniards they could lay their hands on; ſo that not one of the inhabitants dared to ſhew his face at any diſtance from the town. Some of theſe Indians had, it is true, been reduced; and might have been gained over to chriſtianity, or at leaſt prepared to liſten to the firſt miſſionaries, that could be ſent to them, had they not been condemned to perſonal ſervice, which rendered abortive ſome few attempts made to convert them. At length, however, the inhabitants expected to ſee ſo deſirable a conqueſt effected by the

the Jeſuits lately arrived among them. But it was too late to recover, by mildneſs and perſuaſion, barbarians, whom ſuperior force alone kept within bounds. Beſides, the miſſionaries, thought it would be loſing their time, to preach to them a God full of goodneſs and mercy, while thoſe, who made profeſſion of ſerving the ſame God, retained them in the moſt cruel ſlavery.

The Jeſuits, therefore, propoſed to the inhabitants to lighten the yoke of theſe unhappy creatures, in order to diſpoſe them to receive the goſpel; but they took offence at this propoſal. The Spaniards of Tucuman, who had lately given the Jeſuits among them ſo promiſing a reception, and thereby, in appearance, authorized them to make the ſame repreſentations, carried things to far greater lengths. Their provincial, at his return from Chili in the courſe of his viſitation, having ſtopt at Corduba to ſettle a noviceſhip lately formed there, which already began to fill pretty faſt, thought it his duty, when all the buildings were finiſhed, not to diſmiſs, without payment, the Indians, who, to the great ſurprize of all the inhabitants, had been moſt prodigal of their ſweat and labour in erecting them.

The inhabitants ſoon gave him to underſtand, that this act of juſtice appeared of dangerous conſequence to them; and, finding it was impoſſible to perſuade him, that he had done amiſs, flattered themſelves they might ſucceed better by withholding their alms, which were as yet, in a manner, the only thing he and his brethren had to live on; but here, too, they were deceived. Providence, upon which, father Torrez relied a great deal more than on any human aſſiſtance, did not abandon him. He then undertook to awaken by his words, as he had already done by his example, the conſciences of the inhabitants in regard to the in-

juſtice

juſtice and cruelty, with which they treated the Indians; and, as he ſaw his reaſons made no impreſſion upon them, concluded by publickly threatening them with the anger of the Almighty, and that of his catholic majeſty, of whoſe intentions, in this reſpect, they could not be ignorant,

THESE threats were ſoon, in ſome meaſure, accompliſhed. A ſudden and unexpected inundation laid the town under water, and deſtroyed part of its buildings, which at that time were not very ſolid; an impetuous ſtorm of rain and thunder ravaged the country; a plague ſucceeded, and ſwept away a great number of the inhabitants. Theſe, almoſt indubitable, marks of the anger of heaven made ſome impreſſion on thoſe, who were not as yet quite loſt to all ſentiments of religion and humanity; but a far greater number obſtinately perſiſted in their wickedneſs; and even grew more inveterate againſt the jeſuits, who ceaſed not to upbraid them with it. They cut off, as much as poſſible, the uſual ſupply of proviſions; and, at laſt reduced them to a ſmall quantity of maiz, left in their granary, and ſome other vegetables their garden afforded.

ALL this time, the jeſuits continued to plead, with unſhaken conſtancy, the cauſe of the poor oppreſſed Indians; and Father de Torrez, at his departure from Corduba to viſit the other houſes of his order, recommended, above all things, to the jeſuits he left behind him, to place their confidence in him alone, whoſe intereſts they defended. They did ſo, and providence did not forſake them. For, though the procurator received from him, at his departure, but eighty crowns to maintain a numerous community, he found, that, in the eight ſucceeding months, he ſpent eight hundred, without borrowing a penny, or being able to tell from what quarter he had received the ſurplus.

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The perſecution which Father Torrez had ſuffered at Corduba followed him to Santiago. The inhabitants of this town concluded from what they had heard of his tranſactions in favour of the Indians of Chili and the neighbourhood of Corduba, that it was in vain to expect any indulgence from him on this head. Thus prejudiced againſt theſe fathers, they made no ſcruple of publickly affirming, that the jeſuits had not been accuſed, without reaſon, of troubling people's conſciences by filling them with groundleſs ſcruples; that it was impoſſible the ſpirit of God ſhould inſpire ſuch ſeverity, which, no doubt, ſerved only to cover ſome ſhameful views of intereſt and ambition; that theſe Fathers could have no other deſign, in endearing themſelves to the Indians, than that of becoming, themſelves, maſters of them; and enjoying, alone, all the fruits of their ſervice; that it was for this purpoſe they had engaged the king and the council of the Indies to publiſh thoſe edicts, upon which they built ſo much, and of which they would ſoon avail themſelves to amaſs treaſures to the prejudice of the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects. The moſt moderate ſaid, that it was, perhaps, doing injuſtice to the private Fathers of the company to blame them on the occaſion, as it was probable they only acted by orders from their ſuperior, whoſe turbulent and reſtleſs ſpirit had, all on a ſudden, baniſhed that happy union and tranquility they enjoyed before his arrival amongſt them.

It was in vain for the Fathers to anſwer, that, before any of them had appeared in this province, the Emperor Charles V. and Philip II, his ſucceſſor to the throne of Spain, had iſſued very ſevere edicts to ſecure the liberty of the Indians; that they might remember, that, before Father Torrez entered Chili, Don Juan Perez, biſhop of that dioceſe, had condemned, what they now deemed

deemed it a crime in that Father not to approve; and that Don Juan had not given ſentence in an affair of ſo much importance, till he had conſulted all the men of learning and ſenſe in that kingdom; that, after all, it was well known, that not one of them had given the leaſt room to ſuſpect they thought otherwiſe than their provincial, in regard to the point in diſpute.

THE minds of the inhabitants were too imbittered to yield to theſe reaſons, though they could not anſwer them by any ſolid arguments; and, what is ſtill more ſurprizing, they found means to prejudice the biſhop and all his clergy againſt thoſe who advanced them. As no one, therefore, any longer took their defence, they were treated here, as their brethren had been before treated at Corduba; their church was deſerted; their penſions ſtopt; and the Indians hindered from ſeeing them. In ſhort, they were puſhed to ſuch lengths, that they, at laſt, thought proper to withdraw themſelves, and ſet out for St. Michael, as the inhabitants of that town had moſt earneſtly entreated them to accept an eſtabliſhment among them.

THERE had been, for a long time paſt, a diſpute for preeminence between this town and that of Santiago, which was founded but three years after the firſt foundation of St. Michael; for this laſt, as we have already ſeen, had changed its ſituation, in 1564. This tranſlation had ſcarce taken place, when a powerful Cacique, called Gualan, having forced his way into the new town, maſſacred a great number of the inhabitants; ſet fire to the houſes; and would have reduced them all to aſhes, had not a ſudden ſtorm of lightening frightned the barbarians from their purpoſe. Some Spaniards who eſcaped deſtruction; after extinguiſhing the flames, purſued the Indians; killed their chief; and

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made a great ſlaughter of the reſt. This did not prevent the Calchaquis from making, afterwards, ſeveral attempts to ruin St. Michael; but all equally miſcarried.

St. Michael, I ſaid, ſtands exactly at the foot of the Cordilliere; I muſt add, that it is ſcarce poſſible to find a town ſituated in a more fertile or agreeable country. Accordingly, its plains, and all its vallies; in a word, all its diſtrict is covered with villas and farm houſes, with orchards and gardens, that produce moſt of the fruits known in the old and new world. But this land of promiſe, as the Spaniards call it, was, for a long time, ſo terribly infeſted with tigers, that it was almoſt impoſſible, for a man not very well armed, to appear abroad, without falling a prey to theſe ravenous animals, long accuſtomed to live upon human fleſh.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, all the employment of the Indians conſiſted in hunting them; which they did in the following ſimple manner. The huntſman, taking a long ſtick, and holding it with both ends, preſented it, in a horizontal direction to the firſt animal he met with, who never failed to ſeize it with his mouth. But, while the creature thus endeavoured to wreſt it, or break it with his teeth and claws, the huntſman, by alternate jerks to the right and left, threw him down; and then, before he could recover himſelf, plunged a knife into his belly, and ript him up to the throat. This, it is plain, required no ſmall degree of dexterity and preſence of mind; and, accordingly, no man was eſteemed among theſe Indians but in proportion to the number of tigers he had killed; and this ambition to ſignalize themſelves, blinded them in regard to the dangers attending ſo uncommon a manner of hunting.

THE inhabitants of St. Michael reſembled greatly the happy climate under which they lived, being mild, and, as it were, pious by nature. They received the jeſuits with an affection, which they have tranſmitted to their poſterity; obliged them to accept of a college, of which the king afterwards approved the foundation; and liſtened to their exhortations with the greateſt docility. This gave the fathers leiſure enough to make ſome incurſions among the Diaguites, the Lulles, and the Calchaquis; but, notwithſtanding the good diſpoſitions, in which they found great numbers of theſe Indians, they proved equally uſeleſs to them and to the Spaniards; many of the latter having, in ſpite of all the governor's endeavours to prevent it, carried off ſeveral of the Indians into ſlavery; even from under the eyes of the fathers, about whom they had gathered for inſtruction.

1609. DURING theſe tranſactions in Tucuman, father Torrez, provincial of the jeſuits, ſet out for the Conception; but the inhabitants of that place were ſo prejudiced againſt him and his brethren, that the governor of the province was obliged to interpoſe in order to procure him admittance. He ſoon, however, gained, by his behaviour, the eſteem and confidence even of thoſe, who had moſt violently oppoſed his entrance; and, after making the proper uſe of theſe favourable diſpoſitions, ſet out for the Aſſumption, in conſequence of ſome preſſing letters from the biſhop of Paraguay and Don Fernand Arias de Saavedra, governor of that province; and arrived there towards the cloſe of the year 1609.

THE governor and biſhop, it ſeems, had juſt received a letter from his catholic majeſty, by which that prince gave them to underſtand, that it was his abſolute pleaſure that no attempt ſhould be made to ſubdue the Indians of Paraguay, but by

by the ſword of the word; unleſs they firſt, without any provocation, committed hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards; that, otherwiſe, none but miſſionaries ſhould be employed to reduce them, as they, alone, could make them ſubmit willingly to the Spaniſh yoke, by making them ſenſible of the advantages that would attend ſuch ſubmiſſion; that he did not want any forced homages; that he did not even mean to deprive theſe people of their liberty; but merely to reſcue them from the ſavageneſs and libertiniſm in which they lived; make them acquainted with the true God; and engage them to adore him; that he was very ready to admit them among the number of his ſubjects, but with no other view than that of making them happy; and that he, above all things, forbid the Spaniards to make ſlaves of them.

In conſequence of theſe orders, the prelate and the governor had agreed to engage Father Torrez to take upon him the converſion of the natives; and it was in order to concert with him the propereſt meaſures for effecting it, that they had requeſted him to loſe no time in repairing to the Aſſumption. Four or five years before this, Don Fernand had received from his majeſty a letter pretty much in the ſame ſtrain, but merely relating to the Guaranis, to whom this prince gave him orders to ſend immediately ſome pious, ſenſible, and zealous miſſionaries to compleat their inſtruction; with leave to take from his treaſury all the ſums requiſite to ſupport ſuch miſſionaries, and to enable them to make a ſolid eſtabliſhment among theſe Indians, whom he, above all things, enjoined him to ſee treated in the mildeſt manner.

The governor thought it his duty to begin by the Guaranis neareſt to the Aſſumption, among whom there were already ſeveral chriſtians; and,

therefore, engaged father Lewis de Bolanos, the moſt illuſtrious diſciple of St. Francis Solano, to take on himſelf the execution of his majeſty's intentions, with ſome other religious of his order. Theſe miſſionaries, accordingly, had already brought together a great number of the Aſſumption Guaranis, and had formed of them a very flouriſhing church. It was at this time father de Bolanos compoſed the catechiſm, we have already mentioned. Don Martin Ignatius de Loyola, after cauſing it to be examined by the ableſt divines, and the perſons beſt verſed in the Guarani language, of his whole dioceſe, approved it in a ſynod. Don Chriſtopher Areſti, his ſucceſſor, cauſed it to be again examined; and not only approved it after this ſecond ſcrutiny, but forbid the uſe of any other catechiſm in the Guarani language.

THERE is great reaſon to believe, that it was after the departure of father Bolanos for Peru, when his ſuperiors had recalled him on account of his great age and infirmities, that the governor and biſhop of Paraguay caſt their eyes upon the jeſuits to take charge of the Guaranis near the Aſſumption, and unite them with the Indians of the ſame name, whom father de Ortega and father Filds had converted in the province of Guayra. It is likewiſe probable, that father de Torrez, on his arrival at the Aſſumption, appointed to this miſſion father Joſeph Cataldino, and father Simon Macerata, another Italian Jeſuit; but theſe fathers did not undertake it, till the biſhop and governor had given them full power to form all their chriſtians into towns; to govern them without any dependence on the cities, fortreſſes, or other Spaniſh eſtabliſhments, in whoſe neighbourhood they might ſettle; build churches in all of them; and oppoſe, in the king's name, all thoſe who ſhould,

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on any pretence whatſoever, endeavour to ſubject theſe new chriſtians to any perſonal ſervice.

When father Cataldino and father Macerata arrived in Guayra, they found but two prieſts in the whole province; one at Villarica, and the other at Ciudad Real; both too ignorant and irregular to be of any ſervice to either Spaniards or Indians. Accordingly, many of the Indans, who ſtill retained their freedom, were baptized without inſtruction; and many, of thoſe, whom the Spaniards had brought to yield them perſonal ſervice, left without any baptiſm at all, though their maſters never failed to give them all, without diſtinction, the names of ſaints; an abuſe, which, in proceſs of time, greatly perplexed the miſſionaries, well acquainted with their duty, and truly ſolicitous to comply with it.

After ſome ſtay in theſe two places, in order to give the inhabitants that ſpiritual aſſiſtance which they had ſo long wanted, the two fathers prepared to purſue their deſign of ſettling in the center of the Guaranis, upon the Paranapané. But, before they could ſet out, a report happening to ſpread, that there was an order from the king not to give in command the Indians they were going to take charge of, the ſentiments of eſteem and confidence, of which the Spaniards had ſo lately given them the greateſt proofs, immediately vaniſhed. Upon this, the miſſionaries, thinking it beſt to clear up the affair, produced the orders they had received in writing, and the powers given them by the biſhop and governor; and, at the ſame, undertook to make them ſenſible, how conformable theſe orders and powers were to the ſtricteſt equity and juſtice.

1610. "We do not mean, ſaid they, to oppoſe thoſe advantages you may draw from the Indians in a lawful manner; but you know it

never was the king's intention that you ſhould conſider them as ſlaves; and that, beſides, the law of God ſtrictly forbids it. As to thoſe we are commiſſioned to gain over to Jeſus Chriſt, and upon whom you can have no claim, ſince they were never conquered by force of arms, our deſign is; firſt, to labour to make them men, that we may be the better able to make them chriſtians. We ſhall then endeavour to induce them, from a view to their own intereſt, to ſubmit chearfully to the king our ſovereign; and hope, with God's bleſſing, our endeavours will be crowned with ſucceſs. We do not think it lawful to make any attempt upon their liberties, to which they have a natural and inconteſtible right; but we will endeavour to make them ſenſible, that they render their freedom prejudicial to themſelves by making a bad uſe of it; and to teach them to reſtrain it within juſt bounds. We flatter ourſelves with being able to make them diſcover ſuch great advantages in that dependance, in which all civilized nations live, and in yielding obedience to a prince, who only deſires to be their protector and their father, and procure them the ineſtimable bleſſing of knowing the true God, that they will ſubmit to the yoke with joy, and bleſs the day they became his ſubjects."

They, in the next place, undertook to perſuade the inhabitants, that, if they underſtood their own intereſt, inſtead of oppoſing this project, they would exert themſelves to make it ſucceed, ſince it was the only way to prevent the total depopulation of a country, in which it was impoſſible for them to ſubſiſt, without the aſſiſtance of the natives to cultivate it. They aſked them, what was become of thoſe thouſands of Indians, who had diſappeared ſince the firſt diſcovery of Paraguay; and what other cauſe could be aſſigned for ſo great a depopulation, but the inhuman manner, in which theſe poor people had been treated.

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But they ſoon diſcovered, that they were ſpeaking to men, who did not chuſe to be undeceived; and, therefore, no longer thought of any thing but the means of haſtening their departure. And, as they could expect no guides from the inhabitants of Villarica, where they met with all this oppoſition, they applied for ſome to the Cacique of the place where they intended to make their firſt eſtabliſhment.

The honeſt Cacique came himſelf to conduct them; but how great muſt have been his ſurprize, when, on his firſt appearance in the town, the Spaniards loaded him with irons, and threw him into priſon! He did not, however, remain there long, as the two miſſionaries threatened to complain, of ſo ſcandalous a breach of hoſpitality and common juſtice, to the governor and the biſhop, and even his majeſty, if they could not otherwiſe obtain redreſs. They then ſet out with their guide, and, after travelling by land as far as the Paranapané, embarked on the river. Paranapané, in the language of the country, ſignifies *River of Misfortune*; but we are not told how it came to be called ſo. This river iſſues from the mountains of Brazil, and is reinforced by the waters of ſeveral others, of which the moſt conſiderable are the *Pirapé* and *Tabaxiva*. Its banks are covered with a great variety of trees, eſpecially cedars of ſuch an enormous thickneſs, and ſo ſtupendous a height, that one ſingle trunk may be converted into a twenty oar pirogue.

The two fathers remounted the Paranapané to the mouth of the Pirapé, where they met two hundred Guarani families baptized by the Fathers de Ortega and Filds, whom they formed into a town, by the name of the *Loretto*. Theſe Indian churches have been ſince called *Reductions*, a name uſually given in Peru to all the chriſtian towns formed among the infidels, and governed by regular

prieſts; and this name is ſtill in uſe. Loretto was the firſt in Paraguay to which it was given. As to the name of Loretto in particular, none could be more ſuitable to a town, which has proved the cradle of the now ſo flouriſhing chriſtian republic of the Guaranis. The fathers then made a progreſs of eighty leagues, in which they found twenty three little villages, where there were already ſeveral chriſtians, and where the reputation the jeſuits had acquired, of being very zealous to defend the liberty of the Indians, in a ſhort time diſpoſed all The reſt of the inhabitants to receive the goſpel. the ſervants of God repreſented to them, how much it was their intereſt to unite together, as, while they continued ſcattered up and down the country in ſo many little ſtraggling villages, it would be impoſſible for them to defend their freedom, or get inſtruction.

These repreſentations began to work upon the minds of the Indians, when the fathers ſaw all their expectations on the point of being blaſted by the avarice of a falſe brother. An inhabitant of Ciudad Real having offered to accompany them in this expedition, they chearfully accepted his offer, as they were not as yet thorough maſters of the Guarani language, which he underſtood and ſpoke perfectly well. But he had his own views in ſo doing; and, the better to ſucceed in them, affected, in the beginning, the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs. The fathers, however, could not help being ſurprized at his never returning to their common cabin without wanting ſome article or another of his little baggage, and, even, of his clothes; but they kept their minds to themſelves, till one day, on his returning with nothing on but a pair of drawers, they could no longer refrain from aſking him how he came to be ſtript in that manner; when he made the following anſwer, "You preach one way, fathers,

thers; and I, another. You have the gift of eloquence, with which God has not been pleaſed to favour me; but I endeavour to ſupply the want of it by my works. I have diſtributed every thing I brought with me among the principal Indians of the country, from a perſuaſion, that, when I ſhall have gained the heads by my liberality, it will be the eaſier for you to gain the reſt; and I believe the work is already in great forwardneſs."

The fathers made no doubt of his having, in good earneſt, made away with his clothes for that charitable purpoſe; and began to be ſomewhat concerned, that their poverty diſabled them from following his example. Some time after this, the Spaniard told them, that, as he was no longer neceſſary to them, ſeeing they could explain themſelves in the language of the country well enough to be underſtood without an interpreter, he begged they would not be offended at his leaving them to return home. They anſwered, that he was at liberty to do as he thought proper; and gave him a great many thanks for his good offices; but he had ſcarce turned his back, when they diſcovered, that he had parted with nothing but to buy women and children, and was about carrying them away as ſlaves; and that the Indians ſuſpected them of having had a ſhare, underhand, in this infamous commerce. It coſt them no ſmall time and trouble to remove the ſuſpicions of theſe poor people. But they at laſt did it ſo effectually, that moſt of them repaired to Loretto.

The acceſſion of ſuch numbers having rendered this town rather too populous, a Cacique, called *Atycaya*, made a propoſal to the inhabitants of forming another, a league and a half further up the country; and they all cheerfully conſented to it. This ſecond reduction was called *Saint Ignatius*. It was ſoon found neceſſary to form two more, for the

the reception of proſelytes; and they peopled ſo faſt, that the two Jeſuits immediately formed the project of a chriſtian republic, which might, in the heart of this barbarous country, revive the happieſt days of primitive chriſtianity.

Those, who firſt conceived the idea of this important undertaking, and thoſe who firſt approved their views, thought it highly improper to ſet about ſo arduous a taſk, till they had made all thoſe, on whom they depended, equally ſenſible, how neceſſary it was in order to eſtabliſh chriſtianity upon a ſolid foundation among theſe people; and, likewiſe, what great advantages might reaſonably be expected from this method. They, therefore, repreſented to his catholic majeſty, in his council of the Indies; and to the governor and biſhop of Paraguay, that the Jeſuits, having taken great pains, ſince their arrival in the country, to find out what had retarded the progreſs of the goſpel among ſo many nations, and why there even remained ſuch ſlight traces of the great converſions formerly made among them, imagined they had diſcovered two principal cauſes of ſo deplorable a misfortune; the firſt, that the Spaniards rendered the chriſtian religion odious to the natives of the country, by the manner in which they behaved, even towards thoſe who had ſincerely embraced it; the ſecond, that while the miniſters of the goſpel were endeavouring to convince the infidels of its holineſs, ſeveral of thoſe who openly profeſſed it, ſo far from following its maxims, diſhonoured it by a licentious life, and diſcredited it by the moſt crying acts of injuſtice; whence they concluded, that, before they undertook to convert theſe Indians to the faith, it was abſolutely neceſſary to authorize them to ſecure all thoſe they were ſent to, from the tyranny and bad example of the old chriſtians.

But,

But, as the firſt ſuſpicions, the Spaniards conceived of this deſign of the miſſionaries, had exaſperated a great number of them againſt theſe fathers, though they ſolemnly declared, that they had no Indians in view, but ſuch as had not been yet reduced; or ſuch as had entirely thrown off the yoke, and the Spaniards could have no hopes of putting it on again; they were obliged to add, that they would take upon them to engage all the Indians, that ſhould ſubmit to their conduct, to acknowledge his catholic majeſty for their ſovereign, and ſwear the moſt unlimited obedience to him, as a much more ſolid and equitable manner of making conqueſts than that of arms; and, at the ſame time, much more beneficial, ſince the old ſubjects could not be either leſſened or impoveriſhed by it.

Philip III approved the propoſal, and authorized it by reſcripts, which all his ſucceſſors have confirmed. But it was eaſy to foreſee, that ſuch a privilege would inevitably ſubject the miſſionaries who had obtained it, to many contradictions from thoſe, with whoſe avarice it interfered; ſo that, how great ſoever their courage muſt have been ſo readily to expoſe themſelves to hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, and even the moſt cruel death; and all merely with a view of civilizing and converting the moſt cruel and ſtupid ſavages; it muſt have been ſtill greater, to bear the ſevereſt perſecutions and the moſt atrocious calumnies, even from the domeſtics of the faith and their countrymen; and, what was worſe, the riſk of ſeeing, as it has often happened, the labours of ſeveral years deſtroyed, perhaps in a few hours; and yet be always ready to begin again with redoubled ardour.

As ſoon as the two miſſionaries had eſtabliſhed tolerable order in the four reductions I juſt now mentioned, by regulations ſuited to the capacity of the

the inhabitants, they began to find it neceſſary to take ſome meaſures for enabling the new chriſtians to engage, with equal arms, a neſt of deſperadoes, who were no leſs the enemies of the Spaniards; and the meaſures they took ſucceeded ſo well, that, for more than an age paſt, inſtead of being attacked themſelves, they have always been in the hands of their fellow ſubjects the Spaniards, the ſecureſt barrier againſt their enemies; and in thoſe of their common ſovereign, a moſt faithful militia to keep within bounds his other ſubjects; and all at the firſt notice without receiving any conſideration from either. But, we may very well imagine, that ſo fine an eſtabliſhment could attain, only by degrees, that point of perfection, at which I am now going to repreſent it, on the faith of the moſt authentic teſtimonies *.

It is an error, (not committed, however, by any of thoſe, who have examined with their own eyes what paſſes in this chriſtian republic, and who are moſt concerned not to ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon,) that the Jeſuits are ſo much the maſters there, that the Neophytes acknowledge no authority but theirs. The countenance this error has met with, almoſt every where, and ſtill meets with among a certain claſs of people, can only be attributed to the reſentment of ſome private perſons, on not being able to obtain, that theſe chriſtians ſhould be given in command, like all the other new chriſtians of Paraguay. The truth is, that the kings of Spain have not only always had as much authority in all the reductions, as in any other part of their empire in America, but that

* Doctor Francis Xarque, in his eighth book. M. Muratori, in his *Chriſtianiſimo felice*. Don Antonio Ulloa, in his voyage to ſouth America. The decree of Philip V. dated the 28th of december, 1743; and the letters of ſeveral biſhops and governors, who viſited them.

they

they no where have more dutiful ſubjects, or ſubjects who more punctually execute their orders, than the Indians who compoſe them.

Their ſubmiſſion is even ſo much the leſs to be ſuſpected, as it is quite voluntary, and founded entirely on principles of religion, and ſuch a regard to their own welfare as was never judged to claſh with it. Their miſſionaries, in proportion as they formed them into towns, after drawing them from their woods and mountains, and made them open their eyes to the light of the goſpel, never failed to invite them to declare themſelves ſubjects, or vaſſals, as the catholic kings expreſs it in their reſcripts, of the crown of Spain, by ſhewing them that it was their duty in gratitude ſo to do, and the only ſure method of ſecuring their liberty, and thoſe new bleſſings with which they began to be acquainted. I need not obſerve, that, to obtain this point from barbarians accuſtomed not to acknowledge any authority upon earth, not even that of their Caciques, but juſt as far as it ſuited their own humour, it was neceſſary to diſpoſe them by degrees, for ſuch a ſacrifice; and that their acquieſcence, after all, muſt have been in a great meaſure the fruit of that love and confidence, their fathers in Jeſus Chriſt found means to acquire among them, by ſacrificing themſelves on every occaſion to defend their intereſts.

The war which theſe Indians, in a ſhort time after their converſion, had to ſupport againſt the Portugueze of Brazil, obliged their paſtors to proceed a ſtep further. The impoſſibility, in which theſe fathers ſaw them, to hold out againſt ſo powerful an enemy, authorized them to ſuggeſt to their converts, that, in order to make it the intereſt of the king of Spain to ſpare nothing to protect them, it was requiſite, that, inſtead of confining themſelves to a ſimple declaration of vaſ-

ſallage,

ſallage, they ſhould take an oath of unlimited obedience to him, which they need not fear his majeſty would every abuſe to oppreſs them, ſince he had declared, that he intended to conſider them leſs as his vaſſals, than as his children; and they cheerfully conſented to the propoſal. As long, however, as the war laſted, it was not conſiſtent with policy or juſtice, conſidering their great poverty, and the extremities to which they were often reduced, to ſpeak to them of any tribute; and, accordingly, none was mentioned to them till the year 1649, when Philip IV. having honoured them with the title of his moſt faithful vaſſals, and added to this favour the greateſt marks of confidence, by declaring them the barrier of Paraguay againſt Brazil, lately detached from the crown of Spain in conſequence of the revolution of Portugal; and againſt the Indian nations, enemies to the Spaniards. Then, indeed, his majeſty, after renewing the privilege which exempted them from every ſervice but his own, and from the tribute paid by the other Indians, required, that, for the future, the men from eighteen to fifty, and they only ſhould pay a crown a head *. It was the Count of Salvatierra, viceroy of Peru, that regulated this tribute by his majeſty's orders. After all, we are not judge of their loyalty and public ſpirit by this tribute. The ſervices which they have been ſince conſtantly rendering, and of which we ſhall often have occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this hiſtory, and thoſe they ſtill continue to render, to their ſovereign and his Spaniſh ſubjects, without receiving any pay, conſideration, or even ſubſiſtence, are ſuch, as, when juſtly eſtimated, greatly exceed the tribute exacted from any other vaſſals of the Spaniſh dominions.

* *Un peſo de ocho reales.*

All theſe regulations were again confirmed, in 1663, by a decree of the ſame prince Philip IV, who ordered, that the penſions allowed out of the royal treaſury, for the ſupport of a miſſionary in each reduction, ſhould be paid out of this tribute; for, when there are two in a reduction, which is often the caſe, and almoſt always neceſſary, the ſecond is ſupported by his brethren of the province, as are likewiſe the two general ſuperiors of the miſſionaries, one of whom reſides in the reductions of the Parana, and the other in thoſe of the Uraguay. In 1711, Philip V, before whom there had been laid a long memorial, in which the ſmallneſs of this tribute, compared with that of the other Indians, being five crowns a head, was greatly inſiſted upon, forbid, notwithſtanding, any alteration to be made in the regulations already eſtabliſhed. Nay, his majeſty, on being told by ſome buſy courtier, that this ſlight tribute was not exactly paid, knowing the inſinuation to be falſe, not only recommended, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the Indians of the reductions to Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, whom he, in the year 1616, appointed governor of Rio de la Plata, but charged him to give them his royal word, that he would never require any greater acknowledgment from them.

In two decrees of Plilip IV, dated in 1650 and 1652, the reductions, we are ſpeaking of, are declared *Doctrines*. This is a name given, in Spaniſh America, to the cures or pariſhes, according to the ſtrict meaning of that word; and the royal audience of Charcas is likewiſe ordered to cauſe to be obſerved in theſe doctrines the right of royal patronage. This right, however, did not take place in them, till the year 1654, when there iſſued a third decree, by which his majeſty declared, that, for the future, theſe very reductions ſhould be on the

the ſame footing with the other doctrines; that the provincial of the Jeſuits, or, in his abſence, the ſuperior of the miſſions, each in his reſpective department, ſhould preſent, at the departure or death of any miſſionary, three Jeſuits to the governor of the province, who, in quality of vice-patron, was to chuſe one of them; and that, if the Jeſuits ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to this regulation, then the governor, in conjunction with the biſhop of the dioceſe, might name to theſe cures other ſecular or regular prieſts.

But I muſt obſerve, that this regulation was made in the moſt critical circumſtances, that the jeſuits ever found themſelves in ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment in Paraguay. All Spain, and even all Europe, ſwarmed with the moſt ſhocking memorials againſt theſe miſſionaries, which were diſperſed by the partizans of Don Bernardin de Cardenas, biſhop of the Aſſumption; and one of the charges, which this prelate and his ſolicitor at the court of Spain brought againſt them, with the greateſt confidence, was, that, in their new reductions, they, to the utmoſt of their power, defrauded the king's revenue. This accuſation the jeſuits anſwered in a very ſatisfactory manner, as ſoon as the general terms, in which it was conceived, would admit. Beſides, the nobleman, who then preſided in the council of the Indies, happened to be their enemy; and it was this circumſtance, more than any other, that gave occaſion to the three decrees, now mentioned.

In the two firſt of theſe pieces, which were addreſſed to the royal audience of Charcas, the king left the provincial of the jeſuits at liberty to change the pariſh prieſts, as often as he thought proper, without being ſo much as obliged to give his reaſons for ſo doing; but on the ſame condition of propoſing to the governor three other jeſuits to replace

place him; and the royal audience having communicated theſe orders to the governor of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, in which the Reductions are ſituated, theſe officers gave notice of it to the provincial of the jeſuits, who chearfully ſubmitted to his majeſty's pleaſure.

Those, who had brought upon the jeſuits theſe marks of his majeſty's diffidence, little expected they would ſo readily and reſpectfully ſubmit to them; for they were meant as a ſnare to ſurprize the loyalty of theſe fathers, who were too wiſe to give in to it. They knew full well, and we ſhall ſee manifold proofs of it in the courſe of this hiſtory, that had they anſwered by ſaying, as they might without expoſing themſelves to be contradicted, that it was againſt their inſtitute to poſſeſs lay cures, their Reductions would have been ſpeedily deſerted; they did not even make any repreſentations on the occaſion; but their prompt ſubmiſſion had a greater effect, than could be expected from the ſtrongeſt. They are not wanting in any thing they owe to the governors of the provinces and biſhops of the dioceſes, in which they have any Indians under their care, "but as among the three perſons, (ſays Don Antonio de Ulloa, in his voyage to South America, Vol. ii. B. i. Chap. 15.) recommended on ſuch occaſions to the governor, there will of conſequence be one, whoſe virtues and talents render him moſt fit for the office; and, as no better judges of this can be ſuppoſed, than the provincials of the order, the governor and biſhop have receded from their undoubted rights; and the provincials always collate and prefer thoſe whoſe merits are moſt conſpicuous." It is not, therefore, ſurprizing, if we find the word *Reduction* as often uſed, as that of doctrine, in the laſt ſchedules and reſcripts of the kings of Spain.

I HAVE already inſinuated, that there are generally two jeſuits in every town. The ſecond is almoſt always a miſſionary newly arrived from Europe, or a young prieſt, who has juſt finiſhed his ſtudies in the univerſity of Corduba. He, at once, acts as vicar under the pariſh prieſt, and learns to ſpeak the Indian language. It is even ſometimes found requiſite to have a third prieſt; as, for example, when any epidemical ſickneſs rages in a town; a thing that often happens, and without which this republick would be twice more populous. On theſe occaſions, the Reductions are no better than large hoſpitals; and two prieſts would never be able to viſit the ſick, adminiſter the ſacraments to them, and bury the dead. But, whatever the number of prieſts may be, there reigns among them the moſt perfect ſubordination. The pariſh prieſt is conſtantly the ſuperior; and, as he has always about him ſix children deſtined for the ſervice of the church, his houſe looks like a little convent, where every thing is done by ſound of bell. Himſelf, though eſtabliſhed in the king's name, depends, in all things, on the ſuperior of the miſſion, who is conſtantly employed in viſiting the pariſhes under his care; and on his provincial, whoſe viſits are likewiſe regular, ſo that Don Antonio de Ulloa has not ſaid too much, in repreſenting all theſe miſſionaries as compoſing one ſingle and well regulated family.

THE fathers, on their ſide, repay theſe teſtimonies of eſteem and affection by a perpetual flow of more than paternal tenderneſs, "The moſt laborious part, (ſays Don Antonio de Ulloa,) of the duty belonging to the prieſts, is to viſit, perſonally, the chacaras or plantations of the Indians; and in this they are remarkably ſedulous, in order to prevent the ill conſequences of that ſlothful diſpoſition ſo natural to the Guaranis, who, were they not fre-

frequently rouſed and ſtimulated by the preſence of the prieſt, would abandon their work, or, at leaſt perform it in a very ſuperficial manner. He alſo attends at the public ſlaughter houſe, where, every day, they kill ſome of the cattle; large herds of which are kept for the public uſe by the Indians. The fleſh of theſe beaſts is dealt out by the prieſts, proportionable to the number of perſons each family conſiſts of, ſo that every one has a ſufficiency to ſupply the calls of nature, but nothing for waſte. He alſo viſits the ſick, to ſee that they want for nothing, and are attended with that care and tenderneſs their condition requires. Theſe charitable employments take up ſo great a part of the day, as often to leave him no time for aſſiſting the father coadjutor in the ſervices of the church."

THE number of reductions is, at preſent, thirty, of which the thirteen, neareſt to the Parana are within the dioceſe of the Aſſumption. They were within the government of Paraguay, till the year 1726, when, for reaſons I ſhall mention hereafter, Philip V. directed proviſionally and till further orders, that they ſhould be under the juriſdiction of the governor of Rio de la Plata. Some time after this, the governors not only gave the Neophytes ſome uneaſineſs in regard to their tribute; but ſtrenuouſly ſolicited the king to increaſe it. But his majeſty, far from complying with their repreſentations, iſſued a decree dated the 28th of December 1743, to forbid any addition to be made to it. He even declared, that he forgave the Neophytes the ſums they might then happen to owe his treaſury; and gave orders to inform them, that it was to acknowledge their loyalty, and their important ſervices, he granted them this indulgence.

THESE ſervices, which we ſhall likewiſe ſpeak of, as occaſion offers, added to what the Spaniards

are often expoſed to ſuffer from the unconquered or revolted Indians, are a proof, which, from day to day, becomes more glaring, that it was the intereſt of all the Europeans to treat the people of America in the ſame manner, in which the jeſuits of Paraguay have treated them, though they have been often charged with it, and even perſecuted for it, as a capital crime. But what proves ſtill better, the inveteracy with which their deſigns have been traverſed, is, that while the Indians, under other religious and ſome ſecular prieſts, were exempt from paying tythes to their biſhops, the jeſuits alone were attacked on that ſcore. An edict was even obtained, in 1694, by which they were ordered to pay them. But the chapter of the Aſſumption, having repreſented to the council, that no tythes had ever been required from the other Indians, though better able to pay them, the council voted, that it would be, perhaps, dangerous to inſiſt upon their compliance. In proceſs of time, however, ſome perſons were for having Don Joſeph Paralta, biſhop of Buenos Ayres, exact the tithes of the ſeventeen reductions within his dioceſe; but this prelate very prudently anſwered, that it was impoſſible for him to think of loading them with any ſuch burden, as long as he had ocular demonſtration of their being no way able to ſupport it.

It is not to be doubted, but that the interior government of the reductions depends chiefly upon the miſſionaries. The limited underſtanding of their Neophytes requires, that they ſhould enter into all their affairs, and direct them in their temporal as well as in their ſpiritual concerns. Every town, however, has the ſame officers of juſtice and of police with the ſpaniſh towns; a corregidor, regidors, and alcades, all choſen by the Indians themſelves with the aſſiſtance of their miſſionaries; but afterwards confirmed by the

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ſupreme governor of the province. As, however, there is no laying any great ſtreſs on the capacity of theſe officers, they are not permitted to decide any thing of importance, and much leſs inflict any puniſhment, without the approbation of their paſtors. The puniſhments, after all, conſiſt in nothing but prayers, faſting, confinement, and ſometimes whipping; theſe Neophytes commiting no faults that deſerve any ſeverer animadverſion. Before confinement, care is taken to make them ſenſible of their faults in the mildeſt manner; a taſk no way difficult, conſidering the goodneſs of their diſpoſition. Accordingly, not one of them has ever been known to prove refractory under it, or expreſs the leaſt reſentment againſt his judges. "Indeed the love and veneration, ſays Don Antonio Ulloa, the Indians pay their paſtors, are ſo great, that could they be guilty of enjoining an unjuſt puniſhment, the ſuffering party would impute it to his own demerits, being firmly perſuaded that the prieſts never do any thing without a ſufficient reaſon." To conclude, there is in every town a Cacique, who is, as it were, the governor in chief; but he attends to little, but military affairs. He is, however, exempt from tribute, as is likewiſe his eldeſt ſon.

It has been judged requiſite to uſe the greateſt precautions, to hinder theſe new chriſtians from having any correſpondence with the Spaniards; ſo that no Spaniards are permitted to enter their towns, but ſuch as wait on the biſhop and governor. The neceſſity of this precaution, beſides being proved by experience, muſt appear to any one who has the leaſt opportunity of conſidering the wide difference between theſe Neophytes, and thoſe in whoſe favour it has not been obſerved. The miſſionary fathers will not now allow, ſays Don Antonio de Ulloa, any of the inhabitants of Peru to

converſe with their Indians, the decline of ſome of the latter, from their primitive happineſs and piety being found to proceed entirely from too open an intercourſe between them and the latter.

Nay, their paſtors have, as yet, in a manner, hindered them from ſpeaking ſpaniſh, barely teaching the children, in general, to read and write in that language; and thoſe alone are taught to read and write the latin, who are deſtined to ſing in the churches; but, whatever they are applied to, they take it up in a ſurprizing manner. To hear them read theſe languages, one would imagine they underſtood them perfectly well; and as to writing them, they copy manuſcripts in them without a ſingle fault, and in a very fine hand. There is actually a very large one of their copying at Madrid, which would do honour to the beſt copiers of Europe, both in point of beauty and exactneſs. The motive which hindered the miſſionaries from going greater lengths with them, was, that they never left home, on any military expedition, or to carry on the king's works, without a miſſionary to ſerve them, not only as chaplain, but likewiſe as interpreter. Beſides, their manners could hardly eſcape corruption, were they to communicate with the Spaniards. Philip V, however, fearing that this reſerve might be interpreted to the diſadvantage of the jeſuits, ordered, by his decree of the 20th of December 1743, that they ſhould be all taught to ſpeak ſpaniſh. But, conſidering their great reluctance to learn this language, the execution of his majeſty's orders will, it is probable, be attended with very great difficulties.

We have already often obſerved, that theſe Indians are, by nature, of a very limited capacity, and underſtand nothing, but what immediately falls under the ſenſes. This dullneſs of apprehenſion appeared to the firſt miſſionaries, to fall little ſhort of downright ſtupidity; and they, accordingly, remained

mained in ſuſpenſe for ſome time, whether it was proper to adminiſter to them any ſacrament, but that of baptiſm. But, being too wiſe to decide for themſelves in an affair of ſo much conſequence, they conſulted the biſhops of Peru aſſembled in council at Lima; and received for anſwer, that they ſhould be very cautious how they admitted them to the other ſacraments. It ſoon, however, plainly appeared, that the interior maſter, who gives underſtanding, when he pleaſes, to infants, communicated himſelf in a ſenſible manner to theſe new chriſtians. And, perhaps, there never appeared a more convincing proof, that our holy religion is the only true one; ſince, at the ſame time that it implants in the heart the moſt noble and elevated ſentiments, it proportionably opens and improves the underſtanding.

They ſucceed, as it were by inſtinct, in all the arts, to which they are applied; but, then, they have been applied to ſuch only, as were thought requiſite to exempt them from the neceſſity of having recourſe to foreign aſſiſtance. As yet, they have not diſcovered any talent for invention; but they were ſoon obſerved to poſſeſs that of imitation in a ſovereign degree. It is enough, for example, to ſhew them a crucifix, a candleſtick, a cencer; and give them materials for making others. They copy them ſo well, that it is no eaſy matter to diſtinguiſh their work from the pattern. They have been known to make, on bare inſpection, the moſt intricate organs; as alſo aſtronomical ſpheres, turkey carpets, and other moſt curious manufactures. They engrave upon braſs, after giving it a due poliſh, all the figures traced before them. They have naturally a juſt air, and an uncommon taſte for muſick; and touch, as well as make, to admiration, all ſorts of muſical inſtruments. Father Cattaneo, whom I have already cited, aſſures

us, that he has ſeen a child not more than twelve perform on the harp, with a ſure and eaſy hand, the moſt difficult anthems of Bologna. They have, beſides, a ſweet and ſonorous pipe, which, according to what I have already ſaid, is attributed to the waters of their rivers. Theſe uncommon talents for muſic engaged the miſſionaires to eſtabliſh choirs in all their churches; experience having ſhewn, that nothing contributes more to inſpire them with devotion; give them a ſtrong liking to divine ſervice; and make them more readily comprehend the inſtructions proper for them, which, for this purpoſe, have been all ſet to muſick.

This natural taſte for muſick was, likewiſe, of great ſervice in helping to people the firſt Reductions. For the jeſuits, having obſerved in their journeys by water, that, as ſoon as, to recreate themſelves in an innocent and holy manner, they began to ſing any ſpiritual canticle, crowds of Indians flocked to the banks, and ſeemed to take a particular liking to their muſick, they improved the opportunity to explain to them the ſubject of their ſongs; when, as if the melody had changed their hearts, and rendered them ſuſceptible of the ſentiments, with which the fathers longed to inſpire them, they eaſily prevailed on the poor creatures to follow them; and gradually inſinuated into their hearts the moſt elevated ſentiments of religion; thus realizing in theſe ſavage countries, what fable relates of Amphion and Orpheus.

Every Reduction has two ſchools. In one, the children learn to read and write; in the other, to dance, ſing, and play upon all the inſtruments permitted to be uſed in divine ſervice, which they do, like the birds, as it were by inſtinct. Don Antonio de Ulloa ſays, that ſome of them are taught latin, and learn it very well; but, I believe, all their knowledge of it conſiſts in reading and pronouncing it correctly. Father Cattaneo was ſurprized,

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at his arrival at Buenos Ayres, to ſee a young Neophyte aſcend the pulpit in the refectory of the college there, in order to read in meal time; but more ſo, to hear him read both the latin and ſpaniſh languages, as well as if he was perfectly well acquainted with both.

THERE are, every where, workſhops for gilders, painters, and ſculptors; gold, ſilver, and other ſmiths; clockmakers, carpenters, joiners, weavers, and founders; in a word, for all the arts and trades, that can be uſeful to them. As ſoon as the children are old enough to begin to work, they are taken to theſe workſhops, and applied to the buſineſs which they expreſs the greateſt liking for, from a perſuaſion, that art is to be guided by nature. Their firſt maſters were lay brother jeſuits, ſent for on purpoſe to inſtruct them. Sometimes, the fathers themſelves have been obliged to drive the plow, and handle the ſpade, to initiate them in huſbandry; and engage them, by their example, to cultivate the earth; to ſow and to reap. To conclude, theſe Neophytes have built, after deſigns furniſhed them by the jeſuits, ſuch churches, as would not diſgrace the greateſt cities in Spain or Peru, either in regard to the beauty of their ſtructure, or the richneſs and good taſte of their ſacred veſſels and ornaments of every kind.

THIS is not the caſe with their houſes. For a great many years, nothing could be more mean and ſimple, being built with canes covered with plaiſter; without window or chimney; without ſeats or beds; in a manner, without any furniture. The whole family ſat on the floor; and lay in hammocks, which were not to be ſeen in the day time; the ſmoke of the fires, which they made in the center of their cabins, had no iſſue, nor the light of the ſun any entrance, but by the door. At preſent, their houſes are as convenient,

nient, as neat, and as well furniſhed, as thoſe of the common Spaniards. They have even begun to build them with ſtone and cover them with tile.

The work of the women is regulated as well as that of the men. It conſiſts chiefly in ſpinning. The begining of every week, every woman receives a certain quantity of wool and cotton, which ſhe muſt return, the ſaturday night following, ready for the loom. They are, likewiſe, now and then, put to certain country labours, which do not ſurpaſs their ſtrength and capacity.

The trade theſe Indians carry on, to procure what their country does not afford, conſiſts chiefly in wild wax and honey; and the herb of Paraguay, of which they have every where made dlantations; the ſale of it being certain, as no one in this country can do without it. I ſaid, that the firſt plants of this vegetable were brought from the canton of Maracayu, where the beſt kind of it grows naturally; but they have degenerated very little in the reductions. This trade is ſufficiently explained in the decree of Philip V, which I have already ſo often cited. Some perſons have cenſured the manner of carrying it on, though every circumſtance of it is authorized by the ſovereign, who plainly ſaw how indiſpenſably neceſſary it was for the preſervation of this republick.

We ſhall ſee, in its place, what reaſons the miſſionaries had for aſking for their Neophytes, and the kings of Spain for granting them, the uſe of fire arms. This privilege was, in fact, abſolutely neceſſary to prevent their falling into the moſt cruel ſlavery; or being diſperſed over the woods and mountains; and that too, without being ſure of eſcaping the hands of their inveterate purſuers. I may even venture to affirm, that the kings of Spain, and their ſpaniſh ſubjects, are thoſe, who

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reap, at preſent, the greateſt benefit from this indulgence. though the latter, from principles of ſelf intereſt, omitted nothing to have it repealed; ſo that, for many years together, the royal council of the Indies was more taken up with diſcuſſions about it, than with any other buſineſs relating to the ſpaniſh dominions in America. But the intereſt of the ſtate, joined to that of religion, prevailed at laſt. Philip V. thoroughly perſuaded, that it is more the intereſt of the miſſionaries than of any others, to hinder their Neophytes from abuſing this liberty of being conſtantly well armed, confines himſelf, in his decree of the 28th of December 1743, to the recommending to the provincial of the jeſuits, to deliberate with his brethren on the means of preventing any inconveniencies that might be apprehended from it; ordering him, in caſe there ſhould appear the leaſt ſign of any tendency to an inſurrection, to give early notice of it to the council, and let them know what meaſures it may be proper to take to prevent a ſurprize. But there is ſo much the leſs reaſon to apprehend any thing like a revolt among the Neophytes, that their happineſs and ſecurity depend entirely on their loyalty, which nothing but an attempt upon their liberties can impair; and none, certainly, but the enemies of the king, or of the ſtate, can poſſibly think of making any ſuch attempt.

Several perſons imagine, that, in this republick, there is no private property; but that, every week, each family receives the neceſſary food; and, from time to time, the other neceſſary articles for their ſubſiſtence. Some ſuch regulation might poſſibly have exiſted, when thoſe Indians, but newly united, were not in a capacity to procure themſelves, by their labours a certain and regular ſupply of the neceſſaries of life; nor well eſtabliſhed in places of ſufficient ſecurity. But,

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in proceſs of time, and eſpecially, ſince they have been no longer expoſed to the danger of being obliged to remove from place to place, there has been aſſigned to every family a piece of land, ſufficient, if properly cultivated, to ſupply it with the neceſſaries of life; for, as to ſuperfluites, they are, as yet, ſtrangers to them. And, conſidering their natural diſpoſition, and the manner in which they are brought up, there is all the reaſon in the world to hope, they will ever continue ſo. The miſſionaries, indeed, know the full amount of what their lands produce. It is the ſame thing in regard to their commerce, which cannot be carried on but under the eyes of thoſe, who are moſt concerned carefully to inſpect it.

ALL the lands of the country, where the Reductions are ſituated, are not equally good for the ſame things. In thoſe, which lie neareſt the tropicks, as the environs of the Parana for example, there is plenty of honey, wax, maiz, and cotton; thoſe more to the South yield wool, hemp, and wheat; and abound, beſides, in good paſtures. The woods and the rivers are every where well ſtocked with game. Barter ſupplies the deficiencies of nature. Gold and ſilver ſhines no where but on the altars. But, beſides theſe ſpots of ground, that have been given in fee to every father of a family, and which are cleared in proportion as the Reductions become more populous, there are ſome that belong to the community, and the produce of which is depoſited in the publick magazines againſt unforeſeen accidents; for the repairs of the churches, and every thing relating to divine worſhip; for the ſupport of widows, and orphans, the ſick and the infirm, thoſe employed in the ſervice of the altar, or commanded to any diſtance, to ſerve his majeſty in a civil or military capacity; for the maintenance of the Caciques, corregidors,

regidors and other civil and military officers; for the poor, whatever the cauſe of their poverty may be; to ſupply the deficiencies of bad crops, even for other towns; for the Indians, in all their neceſſities, aſſiſt each other to the beſt of their power. The ſurplus, if there happens to be any, is added to the goods to be ſold for paying the king's tribute, and purchaſing ſuch military ſtores as the king does not ſupply them with; and, in a word, gold, ſilver, copper, iron, and ſteel, for the conſtruction of arms and the decoration of their altars.

THE Reductions are pretty large; the ſtreets of them quite ſtrait, and the houſes uniform. In the center of every Reduction there is a ſquare, which the church faces, and likewiſe the arſenal, in which all the arms and ammunition are laid up. Here the Indians exerciſe every week; for there are, in every town, two companies of militia, whoſe officers have, according to their reſpective ranks; very handſome uniforms lacedwith gold and ſilver, but they never wear them except when they exerciſe or take the field. The civil officers have, likewiſe, proper habits to diſtinguiſh them. As to the common dreſs, it conſiſts, for the men, in a waiſtcoat and breeches, very like thoſe worn by the Spaniards; and above all a frock of white cloth, which reaches below the knee. This frock, is ſometimes, made of a coloured cloth; and is then a mark of diſtinction allowed only to merit. The women's dreſs conſiſts in a ſhift without ſleeves, that reaches to the feet, and over it a gown ſomewhat looſe and flowing. But when employed in the fields, they wear nothing but the former. When they carry any burden, they tie it to the two ends of a broad ſtrap, which they paſs over the forehead like the women among the ſavages of Canada. Both men and women go bare legged, bare footed and bare headed. The women's hair ſerves them for a veil.

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The miſſionaries have their houſes next to the church. The ſtore houſes, workſhops, and granaries for containing the produce of the common grounds, which are always cultivated at the common expence, ſtand all upon the ſame line. In the Reductions ſituated at a great diſtance from ſpaniſh towns or navigable rivers, iron and ſteel are ſo ſcarce, that the Indians are often obliged to make their tools of ſtone, or of wood hardened by fire. Their bell metal they get from Coquimbo, a town of Chili, where they purchaſe it in exchange for ſuch of their commodities as they can there find a vent for. Not only thoſe who carry on this traffick, but in general all thoſe who go with any goods for ſale from the Reductions to the ſpaniſh ſettlements, are defrayed by, and have likewiſe their lands cultivated at the expence of, the publick. As to the produce of thoſe goods, it is well known; the rates being all fixed, ſo as to admit of no impoſition or diſpute.

In ſpite of this police, and all the meaſures taken to prevent any one wanting the neceſſaries of life, the miſſionaries find it a very difficult taſk to make all things anſwer. This is owing to three failings in their Neophytes, which they have not as yet been able to correct; namely, their little foreſight, their lazineſs, and their want of œconomy, in conſequence of which they often come ſhort of ſeed for their lands. On this occaſion there is an abſolute neceſſity for aſſiſting them; but then they are obliged to return, after harveſt, a quantity of grain equal to that lent them to procure it. As to other proviſions, if the miſſionaries did not keep a very watchful eye over them, they would, in a little time, not have a morſel to eat. This is likewiſe owing to ſo inſatiable an appetite, that, a few moments after they have ſtuffed their bellies, they are ready for a new meal. Nay, the miſſionaries,

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at firſt, could not ſo much as leave to their diſcretion the bullocks employed in agriculture, leſt through lazineſs they ſhould leave them unyoked, when their work was over; and even tear them to pieces, and devour them, as it has often happened; when their being hungry was all the excuſe that could be got out of them.

This has obliged the miſſionaries to appoint overſeers who viſit every place exactly, to ſee if the Indians mind their buſineſs, and keep their cattle in good order; and have a power to puniſh them, when they find them in fault, which ſeldom happens at preſent. Beſides, when it does, they readily confeſs their guilt and ſubmit to the ſentence pronounced on them. All their faults are the faults of children; and, indeed, they continue children, in many reſpects, all their lives; but then it is with all the good qualities peculiar to that age. In ſpite, however, of all the precautions we have been ſpeaking of, the miſſionaries often find it neceſſary to have recourſe to other expedients, to enable ſeveral families to hold out to the end of the year; no beggary being tolerated in this republick, for fear of introducing theft, and encouraging lazineſs. The ſureſt method hitherto found out, to correct this laſt failing, is to condemn the delinquent to cultivate the reſerved lands, of which we have ſpoken, and which are called *God's poſſeſſion or inheritance*; but then, as ſuch workmen are not to be depended upon, care is taken to aſſociate with them others of known diligence. The fathers of families are likewiſe obliged to ſend their children there very early, in order to form and inure them to labour. Every child's taſk is adjuſted to his ſtrength; and there is no pardon for thoſe who do not perform it.

One of the greateſt advantages derived from this police is, that it keeps every one employed. It main-

maintains, beſides, not only in every town, but through the whole republick, ſo perfect an union, that ſtrangers cannot help obſerving it at firſt ſight. There are no quarrels or law ſuits to be ſeen here; *mine and yours* are unknown words; becauſe, it is, in fact, to have no excluſive property; to be always ready to divide the little one has, with thoſe that want it; and to have one's attention as much, and ſometimes even more, taken up with the concerns of others, than ones own. It is thus, the authors of this eſtabliſhment have made the very failings of theſe Indians contribute to procure them the greateſt bleſſings of ſociety, and the conſtant practice of the firſt of all chriſtian virtues, which is charity. There is but one thing ſtill wanting to compleat their happineſs, and that is, an hoſpital and a good diſpenſary for medicines, in every town, or at leaſt in every canton; ſuch as are to be met among the *Moxes*, where the jeſuits of Peru have formed a republick on the model of that of the Guaranis. But theſe fathers found reſources for this purpoſe, which are not to be expected in Paraguay, where there are no opulent perſons, and the Spaniards, beſides, have no great affection for Indians, who depend immediately on the ſovereign, and ſerve only the ſtate.

What contributes ſtill more to maintain among theſe new chriſtians that ſurprizing harmony we have mentioned, is the ſubordination and good underſtanding that prevails among their ſpiritual governors. Thoſe, who have hitherto had the immediate conduct of this flock gathered together by their labours, never conſidered themſelves, in any ſtation whatſoever, otherwiſe, than as the inſtruments of the biſhops in whoſe dioceſe they labour; ſo that every thing publiſhed againſt them on this head has fallen, of itſelf, to the ground; or has been unanſwerably refuted by the moſt holy

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prelates, the province of Paraguay, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres, ever enjoyed. Theſe miſſionaries never took any ſteps to enter upon this great work, or bring it to perfection, but with the conſent, and by the authority, of their biſhops; and never affected any independence in the exerciſe of their functions. They never uſed the privileges granted to them by the holy ſee, but in the ſame manner, in which other religious moſt ſubmiſſive to their biſhops, every where uſe them. They have even been more reſerved. For, though the kings of Spain had authorized them to eſtabliſh Reductions wherever they thought proper, and govern ſuch Reductions under the direction of their ſuperiors, they never made any difficulty to reſign their places to any other paſtors the biſhops were pleaſed to appoint, though they knew, their departure would be followed by the diſperſion of their flock, as it has often happened.

The biſhops ſeldom viſit the Reductions, eſpecially thoſe of the dioceſe of Buenos Ayres, becauſe they lie at a great diſtance from that city. Theſe journeys, beſides, are very fatiguing; very dangerous; and attended with greater expence, than theſe prelates, whoſe revenues are very ſcanty, can well afford, though defrayed, in a great meaſure, by the Indians themſelves. It is well known, however, that it is not the fault, either of theſe Indians, or their miſſionaries, that theſe viſits are not oftener repeated. On the contrary, they have been ſeveral times obliged to apply for them in the moſt earneſt manner, and for a long time together, before they could obtain them. The Indians ſolicit them, to have the comfort of ſeeing their biſhop, and for fear of being deprived of the ſacrament of confirmation; the paſtors, becauſe they always increaſe the fervor in their churches; ſilence

detractors; and even procure them, on the teſtimony of the viſiting biſhops, freſh marks of his catholic majeſty's good will and favour.

As, to arrive at the neareſt Reductions within the dioceſe of Buenos Ayres, it is requiſite to remount the Uraguay for ſome days together; and the navigation is not only troubleſome, but dangerous, on account of the great number of barbarians, enemies to the chriſtian name, who often appear upon its banks; and as, beſides, there is no reſting place to be met with during the whole journey, nor the leaſt conveniency, even that of a bed, to lie upon, the biſhop had no ſooner given notice of his intentions, than two or three jeſuits repaired to Buenos Ayres with a great number of their Indians, to eſcort him. Other Neophytes received orders, at the ſame time, to make the beſt of their way to certain poſts, from diſtance to diſtance, in order to drive away any enemies they may find there; carry refreſhments; and relieve each other in conducting the biſhop. This laſt precaution is ſo much the more requiſite, as the miſſionaries have often been ſtopt half way, by the ſudden breaking out of the ſmall pox, or ſome other epidemical diſorder, amongſt the Indians.

On the prelate's approach to a Reduction, the news of which is always received by the inhabitants with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, two companies of cavalry immediately ſet out to meet him, and never ſtop till they have got within ſight of the convoy. Then they form; diſplay their colours; and perform, in the beſt order, all their evolutions. This done, they all alight; come and throw themſelves at the prelate's feet; kiſs his hand in the moſt reſpectful manner; and receive his bleſſing. About a league from the town, the Cacique, the Corregidor, and all the officers both civil and military, the ſuperior of the miſſions, the

pariſh prieſt, and ſome other jeſuits aſſembled from the neighbouring Reductions, likewiſe pay their reſpects to the biſhop; fall on their knees to kiſs his hand, and aſk his bleſſing. The infantry appears next, drawn up in order of battle, colours flying, drums beating, fifes and clarions ſounding; and, after opening to let his lordſhip paſs through them, join again, and bring up the rear, all the while beating to arms, till they have ſeen their prelate ſafely arrived:

The prelate enters the town amidſt the repeated acclamations of the inhabitants; and, firſt, repairs to the church, where, on his arrival at the gates, the organs are immediately put in motion. It is here the women wait his coming; for they are never permitted, upon any pretence whatſoever, to mix with the men on ſuch occaſions. Though the piety and modeſty, painted in their countenances, are all their ornament, the ſincere joy they expreſs at their biſhop's arrival never fails to draw tears from him and all his attendants. Many prelates have even affirmed, that their tears never dried up during all the time their viſitation laſted. The biſhop, after giving his bleſſing to his dear daughters in Jeſus Chriſt, who receive it with joined hands and proſtrated on the ground, is conducted to the altar, where he makes a ſhort prayer, and then gives out the *Te Deum*, which is accompanied by the beſt vocal and inſtrumental muſick. After this, he and his attendants repair to the apartments that have been prepared for them, where they find every conveniency they can wiſh for; and are ſerved with the greateſt neatneſs and order.

The time his lordſhip ſpends among them is employed in thoſe functions, which are the principal object of his coming; eſpecially that of confirming all thoſe who have not before received that ſacrament. But theſe duties are intermixed with holy

rejoicings, in which the ſtrangers are ſurprized to find more order, good taſte, and even elegance, than are, perhaps, to be ſeen in ſome of the largeſt and beſt governed towns of Europe. Acclamations precede and follow the prelate wherever he goes; and his progreſs may be traced by flowers and odoriferous herbs and triumphal arches loaded with fruits and flowers of every kind. But what ſurprizes him moſt, and what he can never ceaſe thinking of, is the prodigious alteration obſervable in theſe new chriſtians, and of which he is enabled to form a competent judgment by comparing them with the wild Indians he has occaſion to meet, and even with the converted Indians in the ſervice of the Spaniards.

These prelates are equally ſurprized to find the children, that are brought to them for confirmation, ſo well inſtructed in regard to the excellence and obligations of this ſacrament, which is always conferred with ſuch pomp and ceremony, as to make it a feſtival, in which all the inhabitants have a ſhare, and which never fails to renew their fervour. The Indians keep the prelate among them as long as they can, and his departure draws from them many tears, with which he cannot refrain from mixing his own. They eſcort him to the next town, in the ſame order, and with the ſame ceremony, they conducted him to their own; and, when he has viſited all the Reductions, he returns to Buenos Ayres with the ſame convoy, with which he ſet out. This picture may ſerve for the viſitations, which the biſhop of the Aſſumption makes in the Reductions ſeated in the neighbourhood of the Parana.

The governor of the province, the commiſſaries and viſitors ſent by the kings of Spain to inſpect the ſtate of the Reductions, are received in a more military manner, but with the ſame

ſame zeal, and always with marks of the profoundeſt ſubmiſſion. The provincial of the jeſuits, when he makes his firſt viſit, is received with demonſtrations of affection and reſpect, which, however great they may be, evidently fall ſhort of what theſe good people would have them, though a great deal more flattering for this father of their fathers, than all the honours they could render him, did his modeſty permit him to receive any. If any of theſe Neophytes happen to be at Buenos Ayres, when new miſſionaries arrive there from Europe, (and when they have timely notice of their being expected, they always flock there in great numbers to receive them,) there is nothing they don't put in practice to expreſs their joy. It is but one perpetual holiday in the city as long as the fathers continue in it; and the Indians never fail to vary their rejoicings by a few ſhews, with which ſome foreigners, ptoteſtants eſpecially, have taken a great deal of pains to embelliſh their relation, at the expence of the jeſuits.

But theſe travellers, and moſt of thoſe who look for amuſement in their memoirs, don't ſufficiently attend to the ſpirit, in which all theſe things are done; nor conſider, as they ought to do, that the difference and variety of the ſeveral climates is attended with a great deal in the way of thinking and acting of thoſe who live under them; that beſides a great many things ought to be overlooked in men but newly civilized and converted, who think they can never do enough to expreſs their affection and gratitude towards thoſe, who reſcued them from ſavageneſs and idolatry; and who, at the expence of immenſe labours, and in ſpite of the moſt cruel perſecutions, have procured them all the bleſſings they enjoy, that of liberty in particular, of whoſe value, as well as that of all other bleſſings, they muſt be

ſo much the more ſenſible, as they have conſtantly before their eyes other Indians their countrymen, groaning under the moſt cruel ſlavery, or living ſtrangers to all the comforts of a civil and religious life; and theſe obſervations are handed down from generation to generation; the parents never failing to relate them to their children. What wonder then, that the remembrance of ſo many and ſuch great bleſſings, ſhould inſpire them with a boundleſs affection for the miſſionaries; and, that in expreſſing it, they ſhould give way a little to their natural genius and diſpoſition.

It has been thought proper, conſidering the natural levity and inconſtancy of the Indians, and the great difficulty there is often found in rooting out of the hearts of thoſe newly converted certain groſs vices, in a manner grown natural to them, to eſtabliſh in the Reductions the practice of publick penances, much upon the ſame footing it prevailed in the primitive ages of chriſtianity. For this purpoſe, the miſſionaries appoint ſome of the moſt virtuous to inſpect the conduct of the reſt. Theſe inſpectors, as ſoon as they have ſurprized any one in a fact capable of giving ſcandal, put on him the penitential habit; conduct him to the church, where they oblige him to make a publick confeſſion of his crime; and then carry him to the ſquare to be whipped. The criminals always receive this correction not only without murmuring, but with thanks; and ſcarce ever relapſe. Nay the men often, and the women ſometimes, are ſeen to confeſs, in the moſt publick manner, faults of this kind, though committed in private; and apply for penance. But a great deal of diſcretion is obſerved on theſe occaſions; and it is with great difficulty the miſſionaries permit any of them, the women eſpecially, to make ſuch publick confeſſions, when they wait to aſk leave for that purpoſe.

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THOSE devout and pious exerciſes, which are moſt approved, and the church beſides has moſt authorized, are likewiſe ſo many means ſucceſsfully employed to maintain the ſpirit of religion, and even increaſe it in the hearts of theſe new chriſtians. It is a rule not to admit to the communion of the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt thoſe born of infidel parents, till after a long and ſevere tryal; and they have given ſufficient proofs of their diſcerning, as the apoſtle directs, the food of the ſoul, and that they truly hunger and thirſt after it. But to do this they have the greateſt helps. Nothing is omitted to make them ſenſible, before they are permitted to approach this celeſtial banquet, of the great purity of heart and ſublimity of affection requiſite to partake of it worthily and to advantage; and it may be affirmed with great truth, that they never come to the holy table but with ſentiments capable of making an impreſſion on the moſt hardened reprobates.

THE firſt miſſionaries immediately perceived, that, in order to inſpire the new converts with a great reſpect for the holy place, and for the worſhip peculiar to it, it was proper to employ ſome exterior pomp and ceremony; and nothing has been ſpared to make the proper uſe of this obſervation. All the churches are large, with three, and often five, naves, ſomewhat too low, indeed, for their length and breadth, becauſe the roof is ſupported by columns of one piece. In the largeſt churches there are five very neat altars, at leaſt; that in the middle, which is the great altar, has always ſomething auguſt and ſtriking in it. The Spaniards themſelves are ſurprized to ſee them ſo magnificent, and ſo rich in plate, linen, and ornaments. It is, indeed, the only ſubject of emulation between the Reductions, ſome of whom have been known to rebuild their churches from the very foundations, merely to put them on a level with others; and

even deprive themſelves of the neceſſaries of life to effect it.

All the churches are adorned with paintings which repreſent the principal myſteries of our holy religion, and the moſt heroic actions of the ſaints of the old and new teſtament. Theſe paintings are ſeparated by feſtoons and compartiments of an everlaſting verdure, interſperſed with the moſt beautiful flowers. On ſolemn days, the pavement is likewiſe ſtrewed with flowers, and the whole church ſprinkled with ſweet waters, which perfume the air. This, indeed, is eaſily done, as the materials are to be found in this country all the year round. Beſides, the Indians being very fond of flowers and odoriferous plants, theſe ornaments contribute to remind them that they ought, by their innocence and virtue, to be the good odour of Jeſus Chriſt, and render themſelves worthy of becoming the living temples of the Holy Ghoſt.

These methods have ſucceeded beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations of the miſſionaries. Nothing can come up to the modeſty, reſpect and tender devotion with which they aſſiſt at the divine myſteries, and the ordinary prayers, which are, almoſt all of them, ſaid in the church. The attention, with which they liſten to the inſtructions and exhortations of their paſtors, almoſt ſurpaſſes belief; and during the act of contrition, with which both inſtructions and exhortations are always concluded, and which is pronounced with a loud voice, they ſob and ſigh; and would publickly confeſs their faults, did not their miſſionaries employ all their authority to prevent it.

It is by theſe means that the miſſionaries have ſucceeded, in entirely extirpating from this republick certain vices, drunkenneſs eſpecially, to which the Indians have an almoſt invincible diſpoſition; and inſpire them with ſo great a delicacy of conſcience, that, at preſent, they rarely bring any but the

ſlighteſt faults to the tribunal of penance. Don Pedro Faxardo, biſhop of Buenos Ayres, wrote to the king of Spain, that he did not believe there was a ſingle mortal ſin committed in any of theſe towns in a whole twelvemonth. They preſent themſelves, however, before this tribunal with ſuch ſentiments of compunction, that they ſeldom leave it without diſſolving into tears. And, indeed, no pains have been ſpared to engrave deeply in their hearts the ſalutary fear of diſpleaſing God; and to keep out of their way every thing capable of endangering their innocence. It is for this purpoſe that houſes of refuge have been every where eſtabliſhed for the reception of widows, and ſuch married women as have no children, during the abſence of their huſband. They are all maintained in theſe houſes, at the expence of the publick, when they cannot work, or what they do is found inſufficient for their ſupport.

It is no way ſurprizing, that God ſhould work ſuch wonders in ſuch pure ſouls; nor that thoſe very Indians, to whom ſome learned doctors would not allow reaſon enough to be received into the boſom of the church, ſhould be at this day one of its greateſt ornaments; and, perhaps, the moſt precious portion of the flock of Jeſus Chriſt. It is at leaſt, certain, that there are to be found a great number of chriſtians among them, who have attained the moſt eminent ſanctity; that all, or almoſt all of them carry their contempt of the goods of this life to ſuch an extraordinary degree, as to be always ready to part with what they poſſeſs for each others relief, and the decoration of the houſe of the Lord. Nay, they ſcruple making uſe themſelves of the moſt precious fruits of their induſtry. For inſtance, I ſaid that there is in ſome parts of this country, a kind of bees, called *Opemus*, whoſe wax exceeds any thing

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we know of in whiteneſs. Theſe Neophytes have conſecrated all they can gather of it to burn before the pictures of the Bleſſed Virgin; and, a jeſuit having once endeavoured to perſuade ſome of them, who happened to be in diſtreſs, to ſell what they had gathered of it, in order to procure the neceſſaries they wanted; "We have, they anſwered, conſecrated it all to our good mother, and are not afraid of her abandoning us in our diſtreſs".

The churches are ſeldom without a great number of perſons, who there ſpend, in prayer, all the time they can ſpare from their neceſſary labours. At daybreak, the children of both ſexes aſſemble there at the ringing of a bell; and, after morning prayer, ſing the chriſtian doctrine till ſun riſe. The men and women then come to hear maſs; after which they all go to their ſeveral taſks. In the evening, the children return to church to be catechiſed; which done, evening prayers are ſaid, at which all in general, as much as poſſible, aſſiſt. Theſe indiſpenſable devotions always terminate with the roſary. A maſs of the virgin, and another for the dead, is ſung every monday. On ſundays and holidays, all repair to the church by daybreak; and immediately begin to ſing the chriſtian doctrine, after which the prieſt performs what marriages or eſpouſals are to be performed. The proſelytes aſſiſt at theſe ceremonies, and even the infidels, if any happen to be in the Reduction, as they have been found by experience to inſpire them with very high notions of our holy religion. The feaſts and faſts of the week are then publiſhed; likewiſe all orders and letters from the biſhops. After maſs, ſtrict enquiry is made, if any one has abſented himſelf from it, or any diſorder has happened, that requires an immediate remedy. The baptiſm of the Catechumens, and ſometimes that of the new born infants, is the firſt function of the

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afternoon. Then, veſpers are ſung; and the day finiſhes, as uſual, with evening prayers and the roſary. But, in the congregations, the veſpers are always followed by an exhortation.

THESE congregations are on the ſame footing with thoſe, that have been erected in almoſt all the houſes of the ſociety; and are divided into ſeveral claſſes. There is one for the young men, from twelve to thirty, under the protection of the prince of the heavenly militia. All the reſt are under that of the mother of God. None are admitted members of theſe aſſociations, but ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves by their charity to their neighbours; their zeal for maintaining good order and converting infidels; and their aſſiduity in approaching the ſacraments. The apprehenſion of being ſtruck out of the table that contains the names of the aſſociates, would alone be ſufficient to keep them within the ſtricteſt bounds of their duty. The leaſt intemperance, if attended with any ſcandal, is enough to make the perſon guilty of it withdraw of his own accord; and nothing has contributed ſo much to extirpate entirely ſo dangerous a vice.

THE miſſionaries have even found means to inſpire theſe Neophytes with ſo great an averſion for drunkenneſs, the moſt univerſal of all their vices, and the moſt difficult to extirpate, that, when their affairs call them to the ſpaniſh towns, it is impoſſible to prevail upon them to taſte any wine. On theſe occaſions, they have been often heard to ſay, that wine is the beſt thing that comes from Spain, but that to them it is downright poiſon. The ſame precautions have been taken to cure them of incontinency, which is one of the ordinary conſequences of drunkenneſs. The ſlighteſt fault of this kind would be ſufficient to render any of them

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unworthy in the eyes of the reſt, of being counted among the ſervants of the queen of virgins.

As to the women, the pains taken to inſpire them with a great horror for impurity, have ſucceeded ſo well, that they readily ſubmit to the moſt ignominious penance, for the leaſt liberty they give themſelves in this reſpect; young girls have often been known to part with their lives, rather than yield to the brutality of infidels into whoſe hands they had the misfortune of falling. It has not, however, been as yet thought quite ſo ſafe to exhort them to celibacy. In ſhort, the two ſexes are no where ſuffered to intermix, not even at church, in the middle of which there is a paſſage from the door to the ſanctuary, which parts the men from the women. They are even divided into claſſes, according to their different ages; and every claſs has its inſpectors, who ſee that all thoſe under their care behave with the ſtricteſt decorum. Thoſe who inſpect the children carry in their hands long rods, with which they immediately put in mind of their duty thoſe, who ſeem ever ſo little to forget it. To conclude, there are doors on both ſides, by which the whole congregation may come in and go out without the leaſt diſorder or confuſion.

The reader may imagine from what I have already ſaid of the natural taſte which theſe Indians diſcover for muſic, that the miſſionaries failed not to avail themſelves of ſo happy a diſpoſition to engage the infidels, whom curioſity, accident or buſineſs lead to the Reductions, to liſten to their inſtructions, and inſpire thoſe they converted with a greater liking to the divine ſervice. It is for this purpoſe that all the chriſtian doctrine has been ſet to muſic, and this expedient has anſwered exceedingly well. Theſe muſicians, who, when they perform in church, wear, as all others immediately in the ſervice of it, a very decent and neat habit, at the

the ſame time that they inſpire others with devotion, ſeem to glow with it themſelves, which proves ſtill more, that they do not make any extraordinary efforts to ſucceed; and that, as the natural effect of muſic is to excite in the heart thoſe ſentiments which it already poſſeſſes, this art finds in the Indians who practice it, and in thoſe who hear them, no ſentiments but ſuch as tend to piety and devotion.

The ſolemn feſtivals are celebrated with the greateſt pomp, eſpecially that of the ſaint whoſe name the church bears, and that of the bleſſed ſacrament. On the approach of the firſt, invitations are ſent to the inhabitants of the neareſt Reductions; and they attend in great numbers, the officers on horſeback and in their uniforms. The ſolemnity begins the eve of the holiday by a very fine military proceſſion, in which the Alferez, who carries the great ſtandard, appears mounted on a proud courſer richly capariſoned, and rides under a magnificent canopy. After perambulating the principal ſtreets in very good order, to the ſound of the drums and other warlike inſtruments of muſick, they repair to the great door of the church, where thoſe on horſeback alight, and the Alferez takes his ſeat in a chapel prepared for his reception. The firſt veſpers are then performed, after which the children are made to dance in the great ſquare, where the whole company, both inhabitants and ſtrangers, are placed in the greateſt order. The dances being finiſhed, the cavalry returns to the place where they began their march. At night, bonfires are made from diſtance to diſtance, and all ſtreets are illuminated. The next day, they repair to high maſs in the ſame order they repaired, the evening before, to firſt veſpers. At noon, the inhabitants entertain the ſtrangers; and every one is regaled with a ſmall cup of wine. Immediately after

after the ſecond veſpers, at which every thing paſſes as at the firſt, they run at the ring. The miſſionaries aſſiſt at it, with all the chiefs and officers, to keep the ſpectators in order; diſtribute the prizes to the conquerors; and give the ſignal for breaking up.

But nothing can compare with the proceſſion of the bleſſed ſacrament; and it may be affirmed, that, without any diſplay of riches or magnificence, it forms a ſight, which yields, in nothing, to the richeſt and moſt magnificent proceſſion in any other part of the world. Don Antonio de Ulloa informs us, in general, that it is attended with very fine dancing, far above what is to be ſeen in the province of Quito; that the dancers are very neatly dreſſed; and that the pomp of it, upon the whole, equals that of the greateſt cities, at the ſame time that infinitely more decency and devotion accompanies it. I ſaid, that no treaſures were to be ſeen at this ceremony; but all the beauties of ſimple nature are there ſo happily diſpoſed as to repreſent her in all her glory. She even appears, if I may ſay ſo, all life and ſoul on the occaſion; for, over the greens and flowers that compoſe the triumphal arches, under which the bleſſed ſacrament paſſes, there appear flocks of birds of every colour, tied by the legs to ſtrings of ſuch a length, that a ſtranger would imagine they enjoyed their full liberty, and were come of their own accord to mix their warblings with the voices of the muſicians, and the reſt of the people; and bleſs, in their own way, him, whoſe providence carefully ſupplies all their wants.

All the ſtreets are hung with carpets very well wrought, and ſeparated by garlands, feſtoons and compartiments of verdure, diſpoſed with the moſt beautiful ſymmetry. From diſtance to diſtance, there appear lions and tigers very well

well chained, that they may not diſturb the ſolemnity inſtead of adorning it; and even very fine fiſhes ſporting and playing in large baſons of water. In a word, every ſpecies of living creatures aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, as it were, by their deputies, to do homage to the incarnate word, in his auguſt ſacrament; and acknowledge the ſovereign dominion his father has given him over all living creatures. Wherever the proceſſion paſſes, the ground is covered with mats, and ſtrewed with flowers and odoriferous herbs. All, even the ſmalleſt children, have a hand in theſe decorations, amongſt which are, likewiſe, to be ſeen the fleſh of the animals newly killed for food; every thing the Indians regale themſelves with at their greateſt rejoicings; and the firſt fruits of their labours; all, in order to make an offering of them to the Lord; the grain, particularly, they intend to ſow, that he may give it a bleſſing. The warbling of the birds, the roaring of the lions and tigers, the voices of the muſicians, the plain chant of the choir, all intermix without confuſion, and conſpire to form a concert not to be equalled in any other part of the world.

The great royal ſtandard is carried behind the bleſſed ſacrament. The cacique, the corregidor, the regidors, and the alcaldes, ſupport the canopy. The militia, both horſe and foot, with their colours and ſtandards flying, aſſiſt, likewiſe, at the proceſſion in good order. But, however ſtriking this ſpectacle may be, the greateſt beauty of it, beyond all manner of doubt conſiſts in the piety, the modeſty, the reſpect, and even the air of holineſs, viſible in every countenance; ſo that, perhaps, the triumph of the ſaviour of mankind is no where more compleat than in this barbarous country, where his name was not known two ages ago. As ſoon as the bleſſed ſacrament is returned to the church,

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the Indians preſent to the miſſionaries all the ſeveral kinds of eatables that have been expoſed in the proceſſion; and the fathers, after ſending the beſt of every thing to the ſick, diſtribute what remains among the reſt of the inhabitants. The evening, as on all other great ſolemnities and days of publick rejoicing, concludes with the moſt curious fire-works. "In ſhort, ſays Don Antonio de Ulloa, theſe Neophytes omit no circumſtance either of feſtivity or devotion practiſed in the moſt opulent cities of Old Spain."

THEIR cemeteries or burying grounds are great ſquares, always near the church, divided, lengthways by fine walks bordered with orange and lemon trees; the middle one leading to a chapel, planted all round with ſtately cypreſs and palm trees, and incloſed with low walls. Every monday a proceſſion is made to the chapel, in order to ſing a maſs of Requiem, which is followed by a *Libera* at each of the croſſes planted at the four corners of the cemetery. There are other chapels, at ſome diſtance from every reduction, to ſerve as a ſtation to the proceſſions made on the rogation days, and at other times, either to deprecate God's anger in caſes of public calamity, or to return him thanks for ſpecial mercies. All the ſtreets of the town terminate at one or another of theſe chapels; and have, beſides, every one of them a croſs at each end, where the proceſſion makes a pauſe, to perform muſically an anthem, whoſe words are adapted to the ſubject of the proceſſion, or elſe contain ſome article of the chriſtian doctrine. It, then, enters an avenue planted with the moſt beautiful and ſtately trees, which leads to the chapel. In their way to this chapel they ſing the uſual prayers, and conclude them by another anthem. All the inhabitants aſſiſt at this proceſſion, except the ſick, or thoſe whoſe buſineſs will not admit them to be preſent.

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No pains have been ſpared to eſtabliſh the moſt exact police in this republick. All the inhabitants are to be at home, every evening, by a certain hour, when a ſufficient detachment begins to patrol the ſtreets and ſquares, for a certain time, at the end of which, they are relieved by another; and ſo on till day light. There are two reaſons for this inſtitution; the firſt is, to hinder the inhabitants from leaving home at an unſeaſonable hour without its being known where they go, and upon what errand. The ſecond is, to prevent the town's being ſurprized by an enemy; for there are every where ſtrolling Indians, againſt whom it is impoſſible to be too much on ones guard. The perſons, thus entruſted with the care of maintaining good order, and preventing ſudden attacks, are choſen with the ſame precaution obſerved in chuſing thoſe, who are deſtined for publick employments and the ſervice of the churches.

These precautions conſiſt in preparing, from their very infancy, for every employment, thoſe who diſcover the propereſt diſpoſitions to fill it worthily. The inhabitants, in general, are taught nothing but what is neceſſary to make them good workmen; enable them to govern their families well; and qualify them for ſuch little ſubaltern employments, as require no extraordinary genius. Formerly, the Guaranis, and all the other Indians of theſe provinces, could only reckon by their fingers and toes. To expreſs any number exceeding twenty, they made uſe of a word equivalent to our *Many*. At preſent, the Neophytes underſtand enough of numbers to anſwer all their purpoſes, and nothing more is required of them. The miſſionaries know the extent of their capacity, and exact nothing beyond it. They keep them within the bounds of their ancient ſimplicity, but diveſted of all that vice and ſavageneſs which diſfi-

gured it. In a word, this republick is, properly, the ſeat of evangelical ſimplicity; and it is in order to preſerve it genuine and entire, that the miſſionaries do all that lies in their power to hinder the Neophytes from having any communication with the Europeans; experience having convinced them, that all the new chriſtians of America, who are fallen from their primitive fervour, fell merely in conſequence of their having converſed too freely with the old chriſtians from Europe; or even having only taken too near a view of them.

It is, likewiſe, for this reaſon, that, in all the journeys they are obliged to take; during their reſidence in the Spaniſh towns; and all the time they ſerve his majeſty, as ſoldiers or labourers; they are accompanied by miſſionaries, who never loſe ſight of them; who often ſpeak to them of God; ſee that they exactly comply with all their duties, and perform punctually all their religious exerciſes; and, as yet, thank God, they have not been known to give themſelves any looſe. On the contrary we are told, that the actions and diſcourſes, moſt capable of making bad impreſſions, ſerve only to inſpire them with a greater horror of vice; that no indecent word ever eſcapes their lips; and that they, are, of themſelves, extremely ſolicitous not to omit any of their uſual exerciſes of devotion. It muſt, however, be owned, that thoſe who live at the greateſt diſtance from the Spaniſh ſettlements, and ſeldomeſt leave their own, diſcover a more extraordinary degree of fervour and ſimplicity than the reſt; on whom, for this reaſon, the miſſionaries are obliged to beſtow more than ordinary care and attention.

But there is one thing, greatly to their honour, univerſally allowed by all the Europeans ſettled in South America; which is, that they no longer diſcover any traces of their former proneneſs to vengeance

geance, cruelty, licentiouſneſs, and the groſſer vices; in a word, that they are no longer, in any reſpect, the ſame men they formerly were; that what prevails moſt in their character at preſent, is a moſt cordial love and affecton for each other, and charity for all men, that charms all who frequent them, the infidels eſpecially, whom their behaviour ſerves to inſpire with the moſt favourable opinion of the chriſtian religion. The readineſs with which they relieve each other in their wants; the lively joy they expreſs as often as they ſee any addition made to the number of thoſe who adore Jeſus Chriſt; leave no room to doubt, that the true love of their neighbour, and the warmeſt zeal for the glory of God, are become their ruling paſſions. There is nothing, in fact, which they are not ready to do or ſuffer to extend the kingdom of God; and we ſhall, perhaps, have occaſion to mention, hereafter, ſome inſtances of this diſpoſition. There is a kind of emulation among them to facilitate to the new miſſionaries, the acquiſition of their language; and one of their caciques has been known to learn Spaniſh merely to be able to tranſlate pious tracts in that tongue; and he, accordingly, tranſlated ſome of them. When a new reduction is to be founded, all contribute to the undertaking with the greateſt earneſtneſs and alacrity; and with a generoſity, that knows no bounds.

The publick rejoicings, which they are, from time to time, permitted to make, appeared neceſſary to the miſſionaries, as well to preſerve their health, as to keep up among them an air of cheerfulneſs and good humour, which are ſo far from being contrary to virtue, that they greatly contribute to render it amiable, and increaſe devotion, as often as, after the example of the royal prophet, chriſtians propoſe to themſelves their ce-

leſtial country, as the principal object of their joy. Another view the miſſionaries had in this toleration, was to ſtrengthen the union between all the members of this republick; and experience proves, that nothing could be better imagined to anſwer ſo deſirable an end. The women never aſſiſt at theſe rejoicings, otherwiſe than as ſpectatiors; and the preſence of the prieſts ſerves to keep the whole company within thoſe bounds, which chriſtians ſhould never treſpaſs. The leaſt indecency on theſe occaſions would ſubject the offender to immediate puniſhment.

From all we have ſaid it evidently follows, that there can no where be found ſo great a degree of happineſs, as that enjoyed by the members of this new church; and that it was with great reaſon Monſieur Muratori intitled his deſcription of it, *Il chriſtianeſimo felice*. In fact, what can chriſtians deſire, who have confined themſelves to the neceſſaries of life, and are, morally, ſure never to come ſhort of them; who even know, after the apoſtle's example, to enjoy plenty, without making an ill uſe of it; and, without murmuring, ſuffer want; who never entertain the leaſt thoughts of deſpairing in providence, which never fails to ſupply them againſt unexpected accidents with reſources equally unexpected; who regulate all their ſentiments and all their actions by the pureſt maxims of the goſpel; who live under the conduct of thoſe, to whom they owe all the bleſſings they enjoy; who poſſeſs, in fine, all the advantages of ſubordination and dependence, without feeling any of that uneaſineſs uſually attending reſtraint.

They would, no doubt, be ſtill happier, had it been poſſible to hinder them from knowing ſo much as the name of war; but, even in the very infancy of their republick, they experienced all the horrors of it, as will preſently appear; and they have

have to this day neighbours, from whom they can expect neither no reſt, but in proportion as they can command it. It was, therefore, abſolutely requiſite to put arms into their hands, and inſtruct them in an art, which is the greateſt plague of mankind. But it is not to make conqueſts, or to enrich themſelves at the expence of other nations, they practice it. As neither their countrymen, nor thoſe ſtrangers, who, in a hoſtile manner, formerly carried on ſo cruel a perſecution againſt them, dare any longer attack them, they have, for many years paſt, no other occaſion to uſe their arms, but in the ſervice of the prince, to whom they have ſworn an implicit obedience. Thoſe, therefore, who are charged with the conduct of them, have this conſolation, that they never take the field but through a wiſe and neceſſary precaution, or by the orders of their ſovereign; thus ſanctifying themſelves, it may be ſaid, in a profeſſion ſo dangerous to virtue.

Every town keeps on foot a body of cavalry, and another of infantry. The infantry, beſides the macana, and the bow and arrow, carry a ſling, a ſword, and a muſket; the cavalry uſe ſabres and lances; and, likewiſe, a muſket, as they ſometimes do duty on foot, like the European dragoons. They themſelves make all their ſmall arms, their field pieces, and even their heavy artillery. They never uſe the heavy artillery, but to keep their neighbours in awe; or the field pieces, but when they are commanded on the king's ſervice. But, as I already ſaid, they never keep any of their arms, of any kind, by them, unleſs when there is ſome reaſon to apprehend a ſurprize. At all other times, the ſoldier is not to diſtinguiſhed from the mere citizen; and thoſe brave fellows, on whom the ſecurity of the republick depends, and who ſo often come

home loaded with laurels, as ſoon as they have laid by their arms, might ſerve as models of piety and ſubmiſſion to the moſt retired monk.

Every monday, the corregidor of every town, not only reviews his troops, in the great ſquare, but makes them perform their exerciſe. On theſe occaſions, they form two diviſions, which attack each other, and ſometimes do it with ſo much ardour, that the commanding officer, to prevent miſchief, is obliged to order the retreat to be ſounded ſooner than he intended. Prizes are, likewiſe, propoſed, from time to time, for thoſe, who perform beſt at the bow, lance, ſling, and fire-arms. The moſt diverting exerciſe of all is that of the lance. That of the ſling is very ſurprizing, on account of the juſtneſs with which the ſlingers hit the mark; and it may be truly affirmed, that there are no troops in all America capable of making head againſt them with ſling or lance. I may even, I think, venture to pronounce this militia invincible by equal numbers. They are, beſides, very docile; never give way; and, when broke, rally at the firſt order. However, they would not, it is to be preſumed, fight the worſe, were they properly headed by Spaniſh officers.

The ambuſcades, and ſudden irruptions and attacks, which uſed formerly to prove ſo fatal to them, are now no longer to be dreaded, on account of the great care taken to keep them conſtantly on their guard. There is always a party of horſe employed in ſcouring the country, with orders to give notice of every thing that paſſes; and all the defiles, by which an enemy could penetrate into the country, are well guarded. But as, in ſpite of all theſe precautions, ſome of an enemy's parties might, by the favour of the woods ſteal upon a town, and ſtorm it, while the inhabitants were at church, the

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military men are permitted to carry their arms there along with them, when there is any reaſon to ſuſpect ſuch an attack that they may be in readineſs to ſtop a coup de main, and give the reſt of the inhabitants time to look about them.

THIS republick occupies a great extent of country, the air of which is, in general, moiſt, and the weather pretty temperate. In ſome of the ſouthern diſtricts of it, the winters are pretty ſevere; but the lands are every where fruitful, and yield ſugar, tobacco, and all the neceſſaries of life. Not only grains peculiar to the country, but thoſe brought from Europe, thrive very well in them. The crops of cotton generally amount to two thouſand arobes for every reduction. The country likewiſe yields, as we ſaid before, great quantities of honey and wax, which require no trouble but that of going into the woods to gather them. When the Indians have laid up a ſtock of every thing for the preſent year's conſumption, and a ſufficiency of ſeed to provide for the next; what remains is, along with the weed of Paraguay, carried to Santafé, to be exchanged for commodities; or ſold for money to pay the kings tribute, and buy ſuch things as cannot be had in the way of barter.

THE Guaranis were for a long time the only Indians, in a manner, that compoſed this republick; and they are ſtill the bulk of them. Next to them are the *Tapés*, who ſpoke the ſame language, and are probably of the ſame extraction. Nay, their name is often given to all the ſubjects of this republick, in the reſcripts of the catholick kings. But there are few nations between the Parana, the province of Uraguay, and Brazil, that have not ſupplied the Reductions with recruits. Beſides, the miſſionaries frequently take the field, in company with ſome of their Neophytes, to make ſpiritual conqueſts; and they ſeldom return unſucceſsful. The moſt diffi-

cult to reduce are the *Guanoas*, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomething in another place; not only becauſe they are very lazy, and very diſſolute, but more ſtill, becauſe their blood is mixed with that of the Spaniards, ſome of whom, from time to time, take refuge among them to avoid juſtice, and cannot, by their bad example, but give them a diſlike to the chriſtian religion. Some of theſe Guanoas, however, who through curioſity, or a deſire of ſeeing their countrymen, come to the reductions, are retained there by the kind reception they meet. This is, likewiſe, the caſe with ſome other Indians and even with the *Charuas*, a wandering and very ſavage people, who maſſacred great numbers of Spaniards, during the firſt building of Buenos Ayres and the neighbouring eſtabliſhments. But thoſe, who, next to the Guaranis and the Tapés, have contributed moſt to fill up the vacancies, which war, and eſpecially ſickneſs, pretty often occaſion in the reductions, are the *Guananas*, who live between the Parana and Brazil. For, as theſe Indians cultivate the earth, admit no outlaws among them, and are pretty docile and laborious, there is the leſs trouble to gain them over.

It will, no doubt, appear ſurprizing, that a republick ſo well regulated, and in which ſo much care is taken to prevent every thing that may impair the health of its members, ſhould not people faſter, But, beſides the Neophytes having been for a long time the ſport of revolutions and a prey to wars, by which an infinite number of them periſhed; beſides their long and frequent expeditions at a great diſtance from home in the king's ſervice, ſince, by being permitted the uſe of fire arms, they have had nothing to fear from other Indians; no method has been as yet diſcovered to ſecure them from certain epidemical diſeaſes, which ſometimes carry off half the inhabitants of the towns

towns, in which they break out. And it is this that has deceived ſeveral perſons, who, from ſeeing the tribute rolls of one year, formed an eſtimate of what was to be paid into the treaſury the next; not conſidering, or perhaps not willing to conſider, that the number of thoſe ſubject to the tribute was not only not encreaſed, but conſiderably leſſened.

The commoneſt of theſe diſorders, which are often called plagues, on account of their becoming general in a ſhort time, are the ſmall pox, the purples, malignant fevers, and a fourth, of which we are barely told, that it is attended with very ſharp pains. Theſe diſorders are ſo much the more dangerous, as the Indians, quite careleſs of themſelves, can ſcarce ever be prevailed on by others to take any pains to prevent them, or ſtop their progreſs; and as, beſides, there is not a ſingle phyſician in all the reductions, nor any other ſurgeons, but a few lay brother jeſuits; and it has not as yet been found poſſible to eſtabliſh hoſpitals or good diſpenſaries. The miſſionaries ſupply, as much as poſſible, the want of all theſe neceſſaries, by all the care the moſt induſtrious and tender charity can ſuggeſt, eſpecially for the relief of the ſick; and it muſt be owned, that two men, and ſometimes but one, obliged to attend, at once, to all the neceſſities of body and ſoul, and make frequent excurſions into the country, where ſeveral men ſtationed there to carry on ſome branches of huſbandry, or take care of their cattle, are overtaken by the diſorder; and who often have not, by day or by night, a moment's repoſe; it muſt be granted, I ſay, that perſons having ſo many calls to anſwer, cannot poſſibly anſwer them all. It is even ſurprizing, and in ſome ſort miraculous, that breathing on theſe occaſions, as they conſtantly do, an infected air; and being inceſſantly employed in ſerving the ſick, adminiſtring the ſacraments to the dying, and burying the dead, they ſo ſeldom catch any

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order themſelves, or ſink under the fatigue of attending others.

The Indians know all this perfectly well. Nothing makes a greater impreſſion upon them, or the Infidels, many of whom are often witneſſes to it, than this charity, which takes in every neceſſity, and expoſes itſelf to every danger; which no labours can frighten, no drudgery diſguſt. It is, therefore, no way ſurprizing, that ſenſible as they are of the great difference between their ſituation, and that of the other Indians obliged to do perſonal ſervice, they are ſo attached to thoſe, to whom they are indebted for their liberty; and that, as often as other paſtors have been ſent to them, they immediately diſperſed. This has happened more than once. The Jeſuit Miſſionaries, have, on their ſide, for the Neophytes a tenderneſs, that is ſcarce conceivable; and is inſpired chiefly by that undeſerved confidence in them, which theſe poor Indians expreſs, on every occaſion, by their patience and reſignation in ſickneſſes the moſt painful, during which, though deſtitute of many things fit for perſons in their condition, and with which it is not in the power of theſe Fathers to ſupply them, they ſeldom are heard to utter a ſingle complaint. They receive with ſubmiſſion, and even with thanks, every thing from the hand of God; and ſigh after nothing but their heavenly country.

The conſolation of theſe apoſtolic men, when the Lord ſtrikes their flock in this manner, conſiſts in their having the greateſt certainty, that can be expected, that heaven is peopled by their loſſes; and that they thereby gain ſo many new interceſſors with the maſter of the harveſt, to give them a more abundant crop in their ſpiritual excurſions. Theſe diſorders often attack the neophytes in their journeys, in which they are quite deſtitute of all manner of aſſiſtance. It ſometimes, happens, that,

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when they have ſcarce got half way, the ſmall-pox overtakes them, and obliges them to ſtop ſhort, in imminent danger of periſhing on ſome deſart ſhore, or of falling into the hands of barbarians. Father Cattaneo, who, at his very firſt entrance upon this miſſion in the year 1730, happened to be preſent at one of theſe ſudden ſurprizes by ſickneſs, gives us, in one of his letters, ſuch a detail of the diſtreſs attending them, as can ſcarce be read without ſhedding tears.

Such is this pretended kingdom, of which, it is ſaid, that the Jeſuits are ſovereigns of, and draw from treaſures enough to enrich all the ſociety; but into which, it is added, they take the greateſt care not to let any ſtrangers enter, leſt it ſhould be diſcovered what uſe they make of all theſe riches, and be driven out of the country, in caſe the avenues to it came to be well known. Nothing has, as yet, been ſaid of the Chriſtian Republick of the *Chiquites*, which the ſame Jeſuits of Paraguay founded a little more than ſixty years ago, in the province of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and of which I ſhall ſpeak in due ſeaſon. It differs in nothing from that of the Guaranis, upon which it has been modelled, but that it was ſooner brought to perfection, becauſe the Chiquites are more laborious than the Guaranis; and ſupported their miſſionaries for ſome years, during which they received no penſion from court, as the Neophytes had not as yet been declared immediate vaſſals of the crown, nor were, conſequently, liable to pay any tribute.

I cannot better conclude this deſcription of the Chriſtian Republick eſtabliſhed on the Parana and the Uruguay, than by the following letter written to Philip V, in 1721, by Don Pedro Faxardo, of the order of the Trinity for the redemption of captives, and then biſhop of Buenos Ayres, after his lordſhip viſited all the reductions of his dioceſe.

SIRE,

SIRE,

A letter from the capital of Paraguay, in which my perſon is but little ſpared, having lately fallen into my hands, I take the liberty of writing to your majeſty. I am little concerned at what it contains to my prejudice; but I cannot be ſilent in regard to the calumnies and falſe accuſations, with which it loads the miſſionaries of this province. As the writer declares, that letters in the ſame ſtrain have been written to the royal council of the Indies, I ſhould be very much to blame, if I did not diſcover the malice of thoſe, who write them, and inform your majeſty of the prudent behaviour and uſeful labours of the truely apoſtolick men, againſt whom they rail, though not without wounding me through their ſides.

THIS is not the firſt time, Sire, that ſimilar complaints have been made of theſe miſſionaries to the ſupreme council of the Indies. But theſe fathers, who have nothing in view but the glory of God, and the preſervation and increaſe of their flouriſhing miſſions, have ſupported all the attacks made on them, with a conſtancy and equanimity, by which I could not but be greatly edified. What ſurpriſes me ſtill more, is that not only they appear quite inſenſible to all the ſtrokes made at them, but that for all theſe injuries they return nothing but kindneſs and charity. How many poor families are there in the capital of Paraguay, who would ſtarve but for their aſſiſtance? With what zeal do they not labour for the ſalvation of the inhabitants? They comfort them in their afflictions; they preach to them the truths of the goſpel; they aſſiſt them in ſickneſs; they inſtruct their children; they compoſe their diſſentions; they reconcile them when enemies; they are always ready to ſerve thoſe, who in any ſhape ſtand in need of it.

But ſo many virtues, inſtead of procuring them, as one might naturally expect, the love and eſteem of this people, ſerve only to make them more readily yield to the malicious attacks of calumny. I am not afraid to ſay, that, if theſe fathers had leſs virtue, they would be leſs hated. I have often viſited their miſſions; and I can aſſure your majeſty, that I never beheld more order or diſintereſtedneſs, than that with which they are governed by theſe fathers, who make uſe of nothing belonging to the Neophytes for their own cloathing or ſubſiſtence. In theſe numerous towns, compoſed of Indians naturally given to all manner of vice, there reigns ſo much innocence, that I don't believe a ſingle mortal ſin is committed in them; the paſtors of them preventing by their great vigilance the commiſſion of the ſmalleſt faults. I happened to be in one of theſe towns on a feſtival of our lady, and ſaw eight hundred perſons communicate. It is not ſurprizing, that the enemy of mankind ſhould execute ſo many ſtorms againſt ſo holy a work, and uſe all his endeavours to deſtroy it. It is true, that the Miſſionaries are particularly attentive to hinder Indians from converſing with the Spaniards; and they are very much in the right of it; as ſuch converſation could not fail giving a mortal blow to their innocence. It would introduce libertiniſm and a total corruption of manners. Of this we have a very ſtriking proof in the behaviour of the Indians inhabiting the four Indian towns in the neighbourhood of this city.

It is, likewiſe, true, that theſe Indians yield an unlimited ſubmiſſion to their fathers in Jeſus Chriſt; and what is very ſurprizing, there appears more gratitude in barbarians, who, before their converſion, gave room to doubt if they were men, than even in thoſe born in the boſom of the church. As to their pretended riches, nothing can be more chimerical.

rical. What they earn by their labour goes entirely to procure them neceſſaries for their churches; coarſe and cheap cloathing; and, every day, a ſmall quantity of meat, Indian corn, and garden ſtuff. Were theſe miſſions worth the Jeſuits ſo much, would their colleges be ſo poor, as to almoſt want the common neceſſaries of life?

For my part, who am perfectly well acquainted with every thing done in theſe miſſions, I cannot help applying to the company of Jeſus, thoſe words of the book of Wiſdom: *How beautiful is a chaſte generation, when joined with the luſtre of a pure and burning zeal!* which changes ſo many infidels into true children of the church; trains them up in the fear of God; forms them to the practice of chriſtian virtues; and, in order to maintain them in piety, and preſerve them from the contagion of vice, patiently ſuffers the moſt atrocious calumnies. *The memory of ſuch a generation is precious in the ſight of God and man*; particularly, in that of your majeſty, to whom this province is indebted for ſo many favours.

It is in their name, Sire, that I have the honour to preſent this memorial to your majeſty; and to aſk of you the ſame favour, that was aſked of Domitian by one of his ſubjects. I have, lord, ſaid he, one day, to this emperor, an enemy, who grieves greatly at all the marks of goodneſs you give me; but I beſeech you, to give me ſtill more of them, that he may have ſtill greater reaſon to grieve, *da Cæſar tanto tu, magis ut doleat.* This is what I expect from your majeſty's goodneſs, in behalf of theſe poor Indians, fervently praying God to preſerve you for the good of this monarchy.

At Buenos Ayres, the 20th of May 1721.

Brother Peter, Biſhop of Buenos Ayres.

BOOK VI.

New decrees of the Spaniſh court in favour of the Indians, eſpecially thoſe ſubmitting without compulſion, and civilized and converted by the Jeſuits. Royal viſitor in the reductions. Some Spaniards ſeem willing to comply with the royal decrees in favour of the Indians, whilſt others attempt to make ſlaves even of thoſe belonging to the reductions. Deſcription of the town called St. Paul of Pritaningue in Brazil. Why the inhabitants called Mamelus. The Mamelus carry into ſlavery ſeveral of the Reduction Indians; and are the occaſion of many more ſeparating from their paſtors to ſeek ſhelter in the woods, where ſome periſh through want and fatigue, and others are devoured by wild beaſts. Diviſion of the provinces of Paraguay, and Rio de la Plata. Deſcription of the country called Tapé. Curious animal. Curious vegetables. Reductions eſtabliſhed in Tapé. Singular nations called Caaiguas. Mamelus deſtroy two Spaniſh towns. Reductions removed to avoid their fury. Spaniards refuſe to aſſiſt the new chriſtians.

1610-13. WHILE the fathers Maceta and Cataldino were extending their ſpiritual conqueſts among the Guaranis on the banks of the Parapamena, ſome of their brethren had the happineſs of founding a reduction under the name of St. Ignatius

St. Ignatius Guaza, between the Tebiquari and the Parana, and of converting a great number of the Diaguites. Even a Cacique among the Guaycurus, who affected to be called Don Martin, applied for ſome Jeſuits to inſtruct his ſubjects. But, though the Spaniards could not expect to live with any comfort in the country without making friends of theſe Indians, and it was impoſſible to make friends of them without firſt making them chriſtians, they could not bear even the diſtant proſpect of loſing the perſonal ſervice of theſe poor creatures, whom they, in a manner, conſidered as part of their property. Nay, ſome of them, in hopes, it is probable, of fruſtrating the charitable deſigns of the miſſionaries, went ſo far as to publiſh, that the Spaniards had killed the relation of Don Martin, to whom theſe fathers had promiſed the fulleſt ſecurity for himſelf and his ſubjects, while they remained along with him, in order to induce him to come and ſettle nearer the province of Paraguay. But the authors of ſo ſcandalous a report were fortunately diſcovered, though not puniſhed with the ſeverity they deſerved.

1613. In the mean time, Don Franciſco Alfaro arrived in Tucuman, in quality of royal viſitor, with inſtructions to regulate the manner, in which the Indians given in command ſhould be treated, ſo as to leave no juſt reaſon, to complain, to them, or the Spaniards. But it was no eaſy matter to determine, what the Spaniards had a juſt right to expect. The perſonal ſervice, on the footing it then ſtood, could only be conſidered as an abuſe of the commandes, which it was no eaſy matter to reduce to equitable bounds; and, accordingly, neither the authority of the ſovereign, nor the repreſentations of the biſhops, nor the ſeverity of the governors and inferior

ſerior magiſtrates have as yet been able to conquer this inveterate evil.

The viſiter, after declaring his majeſty's intentions, and conferring in private with ſeveral perſons who beſt underſtood the nature of the affair, called an aſſembly of the principal perſons of the province, in which every point was very maturely examined and diſcuſſed. The reſult was an unanimous decree, that the perſonal ſervice, in the manner it was then exacted in the country, was unlawful for the reaſons publickly alledged by every member. The viſiter, then, ſet out for Corduba, where the evil was much greater than at Santiago; and, on his arrival there, publiſhed the king's orders, the viceroy's edicts, the ſentences of the royal audience of Charcas, and the new decree juſt now mentioned. But he met with ſo many obſtacles in the execution of them, that he thought proper to mitigate them a little, in hopes that, by proceeding with more gentleneſs, he might the ſooner diſpoſe the parties concerned to yield, at laſt, an unlimited obedience to the juſt commands of their ſuperiours. But we are not told how far he carried his condeſcenſion, nor what effects it then produced. All we know of the matter is, that he remained but a ſhort time in this town; and that, if ever the perſonal ſervice was put upon a proper footing, it continued ſo but a very ſhort time.

The viſiter, then, ſet out for the Aſſumption, in company with Don Diego Martin Negroni, named to the government of Paraguay and the provincial of the Jeſuits, whom he had met at Corduba. At ſome diſtance from the Aſſumption, they were pretty much ſurprized to ſee a large boat draw near them covered with green branches and flowers; but more ſo, when they found it carried the ſon of Don Martin, the Guaycurus Cacique, whom his

father had ſent to compliment the viſiter in his name, and obtain leave for himſelf to wait upon him, in perſon. The young Indian acquitted himſelf ſo well of his commiſſion, that he charmed all the ſpectators; and the viſiter, the governor, and the provincial thought proper to perform the reſt of the journey in his boat, in order to give him an unqueſtionable proof of their reliance on his aſſurances. Don Martin himſelf arrived at the Aſſumption, in a very ſhort time after them, accompanied by father Gonzales who had been ſent to him at his requeſt, and a great many of his countrymen, who were all very well received. He even brought another ſon of his, two years old, to be baptized; and, though he himſelf had not as yet applied for that favour, father Torrez thought proper to comply with his requeſt; the viſiter and the governor ſtanding ſponſors, in perſon, to the young chriſtian.

The viſiter, then, cauſed the ſame publications to be made in the Aſſumption, in regard to the perſonal ſervice, which he had before ordered at Corduba and Santiago; but the principal inhabitants, many of whom were related to the firſt families of Spain, repreſented to him, that, by depriving them of the ſervices of the Indians, or reducing it to the limits mentioned in his proclamation, they ſhould be abſolutely diſabled from paying the king, what his majeſty required of them. All this was true; but it was their own fault, and that of their forefathers, who, by treating the natives of the country with more juſtice and humanity, might have obtained far greater ſervices from them, than any they could expect in the ſtate of ſlavery, to which they had reduced them. The evil, however, being already done, (for a prodigious number of Indians had periſhed by exceſſive labour, or fled to avoid it,) the viſiter thought he might conſent

conſent to a medium, which, at the ſame time, that it would not render deſperate ſo many perſons of quality, ſhould, in no ſhape, ſtrike at the authority of the ſovereign. He, therefore, permitted thoſe, who had Indians in command, to exact from them, during the ſpace of one month in every year, what ſervices they thought proper, provided they paid them wages for the work done during the other eleven months. To this regulation he added ſeveral others in favour of the Indians; and the king not only approved the gratuitous ſervice of thoſe in command during one month, but gave leave to extend it to two months, as it had been at the firſt inſtitution of the commands. But it will appear hereafter, that, in proceſs of time, things inſenſibly returned to their old footing.

The viſiter, next, declared, in the king's name, that neither the Guaranis nor the Guaycurus ſhould ever be given in command, upon any pretence whatſoever; and that the fathers of the ſociety of Jeſus ſhould, alone, be charged with the care of inſtructing and civilizing them; and engaging them to acknowledge for ſovereigns the kings of Spain, of whom they ſhould be conſidered as the immediate vaſſals; and that their miſſionaries ſhould receive out of the royal treaſury the ſame ſalary, that was allowed to the pariſh prieſts among the Indians of Peru. But father Torrez begged the viſiter to reduce it to one fourth, aſſuring him, that it was enough for religious men, who knew how to live within bounds. We have already ſeen, that what the king allows the pariſh prieſts of the reductions for their ſubſiſtence, is taken from the tribute, which the Indians of them pay his majeſty. Though father Torrez's diſintereſtedneſs gave great ſatisfaction, the viſiter had ſcarce left the Aſſumption, when there aroſe ſo furious a ſtorm againſt the Jeſuits, as the authors of theſe

new regulations we have been ſpeaking of, that they were obliged to retire to their farm houſe in the neighbourhood. Soon after their expulſion, however, one of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants, attended by all the Indians he had in command, waited on the governor, and proteſted to him, upon oath, that he would rather ſee himſelf reduced to beggary, than treſpaſs the bounds lately preſcribed to the encomenderoes. Then, turning to his Indians, he declared to them, that he, by no means, pretended to treat them as ſlaves for the future, as he had hitherto done; but, on the contrary, would conſider them as his children. Though this humane and charitable act made ſo great an impreſſion upon moſt of thoſe in the ſame circumſtances, that the Jeſuits were ſoon invited back to their college, there ſtill remained a leaven of ill will againſt them, which has often ſhown itſelf, eſpecially ſince the Spaniards began again to treat the Indians with their uſual cruelty and injuſtice. Don Franciſco concluded his viſitation by a tour to Santiago, where he had received the ſtricteſt orders from his majeſty, and the viceroy of Peru, to ſee the Jeſuits reeſtabliſhed; but he had no occaſion to proceed to violent methods for that purpoſe. The new governor, and his predeceſſor, who had been ſeverely reprimanded by the king for ſuffering the Jeſuits to be driven out of the place; the biſhop, who now began to lament with tears his weakneſs in regard to them, and the inhabitants of every rank; all being readier to receive them, than they were to return. The fathers, however, at length complied; and the viſiter endowed their college, partly out of the king's revenues, and partly out of thoſe of the cathedral. A ſeminary was, likewiſe, opened for the education of youth; but it was ſoon after transferred to Corduba, which is, at preſent, the capital of the province,

province, and the reſidence of its biſhops. Much about the ſame time, the Spaniards, alarmed at ſome events, which they conſidered as ſo many judgments upon thoſe, who had made the greateſt abuſe of the commands, ſincerely renounced the perſonal ſervice, which they had hitherto exacted from the Indians. Some of them even made them very large preſents, by way of atonement for their former oppreſſions; and theſe poor creatures, tranſported with joy at ſo ſudden a change, did nothing but extol thoſe, to whom they imagined they were chiefly indebted for it; and ſent them invitations, from every quarter, to ſettle among them, promiſing to repay their endeavours with the greateſt docility and ſubmiſſion.

Every thing being thus regulated in Tucuman, father Torrez turned all his thoughts towards the province of Guayra. The firſt ſtep he took was to ſend father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, lately arrived from Spain, to the aſſiſtance of the fathers Maceta and Cataldino, who were no longer ſufficient for the prodigious number of Guaranis, that daily came to put themſelves under their conduct. The four reductions, however, which theſe miſſionaries had already formed, were not as yet overſtocked with chriſtians; for, having remarked, that moſt of their proſelytes repaired to them, merely to avoid being moleſted by the Spaniards, or the Portugueze of Brazil; and in order to be the better able to defend themſelves againſt their old enemies; they began to admit them with ſome reſerve, as many of thoſe, who had been too readily received, ſoon grew tired of the regular life they were made to lead, and returned to their woods and mountains, when the miſſionaries leaſt expected it, in ſpite of all the indulgence that could be allowed them without diſhonouring the

religion, which it was the chief ambition of the miſſionaries to make them embrace.

In the year 1615, Father Torrez, who had, but ſeven years before founded this province with ſeven jeſuits, was ſucceeded by father Pedro de Onate, to whom he left no leſs than one hundred and nineteen; and this number was greatly encreaſed, the year following, by a conſiderable reinforcement from Europe, ſo that theſe religious now found themſelves in a condition to open regular claſſes in their colleges at Buenos Ayres Santafe and St. Michael; ſupply with paſtors ſome ſpaniſh towns deſtitute of ſpiritual aſſiſtance; and ſend others to maintain and extend the ſpritual conqueſts they had already made among the Indians, and attempt new ones. Of thoſe ſent on this laſt errand, father Gonzalez had the greateſt ſucceſs. He founded a reduction at a place called Itapua, ſixty leagues from the Aſſumption, where a gut, by which a marſh drains into the Parana, forms a kind of port; and two others in the neighbourhood. But Don Ferdinando Arias, who had married this father's ſiſter, and had been lately promoted, for the ſecond time, to the government of Paraguay, had like to have blaſted theſe promiſing appearances by an indiſcreet attempt to forward them. Contrary to his brother in law's advice, he would viſit the new reductions; and, though the Neophytes, ſufficiently apprized by their paſtor of the friendlineſs of his intentions, expreſſed the greateſt pleaſure at ſeeing him, the appearance of about fifty ſoldiers, whom he had taken along with him, cauſed ſuch an alarm among the neighbouring Indians, that, while he was diſpoſing of all the civil and military employments of the new eſtabliſhments, with the ſame authority he could have done in any ſpaniſh town of his government, a large body aſſembled to cut him off in his return; and would have infallibly

fallibly done it, had not his brother in law's eloquence opened him a paſſage through them. The governor, having thought proper to offer the cacique, who commanded them, a ſtaff of command, in the king's name, the barbarian prince nobly anſwered, that he had, for a long time paſt, commanded in the country without any ſuch ſtaff; and, therefore, deſired him to keep the bauble for ſomebody elſe, who might think it worth his acceptance.

1613-18. In the mean time, an epidemick diſeaſe broke out in the old reductions, and carried off a great number of the inhabitants; but theſe loſſes, as they ſerved to people heaven, gave the miſſionaries much leſs uneaſineſs than they ſuffered by living ſo near the town of Villarica, whoſe inhabitants let ſlip no opportunity of carrying off all the new chriſtians they could ſurprize, treating them in a manner that expoſed them to the danger of loſing their faith along with their liberty. To remedy this evil, the fathers thought proper to remove to the other ſide of the Paranapané and the Pirapé; but it was not long before they diſcovered, that, by flying from one enemy, they got more within the reach of another, whoſe neighbourhood ſoon became fatal to all theſe new churches. Theſe were the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue, a ſmall town of the province of St. Vincent in Brazil, of whoſe origin and character it is requiſite I ſhould ſay ſomething, that the reader may the better underſtand the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The Portugueſe who conquered Brazil, after building St. Vincent on the ſea ſhore, ſent colonies into the inland parts of the country, where they built ſome towns, of which one of the moſt famous was this of St. Paul, ſurnamed *Piratininga* from the Indian name of the diſtrict, in which it was founded. Some time after the foundation of this

place, father Emmanuel de Nobrega, who had been ſent over to Brazil by St. Ignatius, and was the firſt provincial of the jeſuits there, finding, that this little town was advantageouſly ſituated to found a numerous church of Brazilians; and imagining, beſides, that the Indians here were more docile than thoſe in the neighbourhood of St. Vincent, removed to it the college of this laſt city; and, as he arrivrd at Piratininga the eve of the converſion of St. Paul, he gave his new church the name of that apoſtle; and this name, in courſe of time, became that of the town itſelf.

1618. The inhabitants of this place continued, for ſome time, in religious ſentiments, through the endeavours of the jeſuits eſtabliſhed among them; and the Indians of the neighbourhood, for whom theſe fathers found means to obtain good treatment from their new neighbours, embraced the goſpel in great numbers. But this ſucceſs was of ſhort continuance, and the Portugueſe colony of St. Paul of Piratiningue, upon which the miſſionaries had founded their greateſt hopes for extending the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, ſoon became an invincible barrier in the way of their ſpiritual conqueſts. The evil proceeded from another colony contiguous to that of St. Paul, in which the blood of the Portugueſe had been greatly mixed with that of the Brazilians; for the contagion of this bad example ſoon reaching St. Paul, there ſprang from this mixture a perverſe generation, who carried their diſorders of every kind to ſuch an exceſs, that, in proceſs of time, they came to be called *Mamelus*, on account of their great reſemblance to theſe ſlaves of the ancient ſultans of Egypt.

This diſſolution became ſo general, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the governors, magiſtrates, and jeſuits, ſeconded by the eccleſiaſtical ſuperiours, to put

put a ſtop to it, that the Mamelus, at length, ſhook off the yoke of all divine and human authority. Upon this, a great number of banditti of different nations, Portugueſe, Spaniards, Dutch, and Italians, who were obliged to fly the juſtice of men, and deſpiſed that of God, and a great many of the natives, ſettled amongſt them; and, having ſoon contracted a taſte for violence and rapine, gave themſelves up to it without reſtraint, and filled with horror a great extent of country. The ſhorteſt method of putting a ſtop to ſo great an evil, was to purge the earth of theſe miſcreants. It was equally the intereſt of the two crowns of Spain and Portugal, now united under one head, to attempt it. But the town of St. Paul, ſituated on the top of a rock, the avenues to which may be eaſily defended by a few reſolute fellows, could only be reduced by famine; and a much more numerous army would have been requiſite for this purpoſe, than either Brazil or Paraguay could raiſe and ſupport. Beſides, there never exiſted, between the two nations, harmony enough to make ſuch an enterprize ſucceed.

The air at St. Paul is very wholeſome and the ſky always ſerene. The weather too, is very temperate, though it lies in the 44th degree of South latitude. All the lands about it are very fertile, and produce the beſt of wheat, beſides the fineſt ſugar canes; and abound with exceeding good paſtures. It could, therefore, be merely through a ſpirit of libertiniſm, and a love of rapine, that the Mamelus ſo long made it their buſineſs to overrun, in ſpite of the greateſt dangers of every kind, and the moſt conſtant fatigues, theſe vaſt uncultivated regions, which, from time to time, they have deſpoiled of two millions of inhabitants, ſo that their own country muſt ſoon have been without inhabitants, if

to the many who never returned from theſe excurſions, which ſometimes laſted ſeven years, they did not ſubſtitute ſome of the captives they brought home with them, or ſome Indians, with whom they had formed an alliance.

The Spaniards of Paraguay were as great ſufferers by theſe ruffians, as the Indian nations that happened to lie in their paſſage. But the former could blame none but themſelves for what they ſuffered; for, had they ſupported the reductions properly, the Mamelus would have found in them an inſuperable barrier; but, to their great misfortune, avarice blinded them to their real intereſt. They could not help conſidering theſe new churches merely as a part of their property, and never opened their eyes to the advantages they might have lawfully derived from them, till all this frontier was unpeopled and entirely ruined. As the Mamelus, however, ſoon met with more reſiſtence from the new chriſtians, than they, at firſt, expected, and did not chuſe to weaken themſelves by dint of conqueſt, they had recourſe to ſtratagem, and put ſeveral kinds in practice.

That, which for ſome time ſucceeded beſt, was, to appear in ſmall parties, led by commanders in the habit of jeſuits, in thoſe places, which they knew the jeſuits frequented in hopes of making proſelytes. The firſt thing they did on theſe occaſions was to erect croſſes. They, next, made little preſents to the Indians they met; diſtributed remedies among the ſick; and, as they were maſters of the Guarani language, exhorted them to embrace the chriſtian religion, of which they explained to them, in a few words, the principal articles. When they had by theſe arts aſſembled a great number of them, they propoſed to them to remove to ſome more convenient ſpot, where they aſſured them they ſhould want for nothing. Moſt of the poor creatures

tures permitted themſelves to be thus led by the noſe by theſe wolves in ſheep's cloathing, till the traitors, dropping the maſk, began to tie them; cutting the throats of thoſe who endeavoured to eſcape, and carrying the reſt into ſlavery. Some, however, eſcaped, from time to time, and alarmed the whole country. The jeſuits were conſidered by the Indians, as the authors of this wicked contrivance, till theſe fathers could point out who they really were; and, in the mean time, beſides being expoſed to greater dangers than ever during their excurſions, generally returned without being able to prevail on any Indians to follow them.

THE Indians of the new republick formed 1718
by theſe fathers, had not till now been admitted to the holy table, except at the hour of death; nor were any admitted even then, but ſuch as had withſtood a tryal of ſeven years ſince their baptiſm. This time was thought neceſſary to obtain certain proofs of their conſtancy; to render them capable of conceiving a high opinion of the dignity of ſo auguſt a ſacrament; and to inſpire them with a real hunger for this celeſtial nouriſhment. Many, in fact, did ſurpriſing things to obtain leave to partake of it. As nothing goes againſt the grain of theſe people ſo much as humiliations, it was this way the miſſionaries chiefly tried them; and they ſupported the tryal with a courage that could ſcarce be expected. As ſoon as notice was given to them to prepare for eating the bread of life, they did it by all the exerciſes of piety and pennance they could think of; eſpecially by faſting, which ſome carried to ſuch a length as not to taſte any thing for two days together. Conſidering their voracity, and readineſs to digeſt, which we have already ſpoken of, nothing could better prove how earneſtly they hungered after this divine manna. And, indeed, they reaped ſuch fruits from it, that even their

paſtors

paſtors could hardly perſuade themſelves they were the ſame men.

THERE had been current, for a long time paſt, in the adjacent provinces, a tradition, to which, perhaps, more credit has been given in ſome relations, than it really deſerves; but which, however, it is, I believe, as difficult to refute as to prove. As ſoon as the fathers Cataldino and Maceta had removed to a greater diſtance from the Spaniſh ſettlements, in order to meet with fewer obſtacles to the converſion of the Guaranis, ſome of the principal men among theſe Indians aſſured them, that they had been informed by their anceſtors, that a holy man, called *Pay Luma*, or *Pay Tuma*, had preached in their country the faith of Heaven, (ſo they expreſſed themſelves;) that numbers had put themſelves under his conduct; and that, at his departure, he had foretold, that they and their deſcendants would abandon the worſhip of the true God whom he had made known to them; but that, after ſome hundreds of years, new envoys of the ſame God would appear among them, armed with a croſs like that which he carried, and would reeſtabliſh the ſame worſhip among their deſcendants.

SOME years after this, the fathers de Montoya and de Mendoza, having penetrated into the canton of *Tayati*, of which I ſhall ſoon give ſome account; the inhabitants, ſeeing them come with croſſes in their hands, received them, to their great ſurprize, with uncommon demonſtrations of joy and affection; and, on the fathers expreſſing their ſurprize, related to them the ſame paſſages, that the fathers Cataldino and Maceta had heard from other Indians; adding, that the holy man was, likewiſe, called *Pay Abara*, or the father who lives in a ſtate of celibacy. The tradition of the Brazilians tallies with that of the Guaranis, all to its

adding

adding that the father landed in the port of Saints, oppoſite to the bar of St. Vincent; and that he inſtructed the inhabitants in the arts of cultivating manioc, and making bread of it.

THERE is a great road leading from Brazil to Guayra, which, though very ſeldom uſed, is never overgrown with any but ſmall weeds; and the natives call it the road of *Pay Luma*. In ſhort, there is, above the aſſumption, a rock, whoſe ſummit forms a terrace, where ſome people imagine they can perceive the tracks of human feet; and the Indians ſay, that it was from this ſpot Pay Luma uſed to preach the law of God to their forefathers. The Peruvians, who give him the ſame name, ſhow ſome ſimilar veſtiges in their country, and relate a great many wonders, which they ſay the ſaint wrought among them. Be this as it will, ſeveral Spaniards have given credit to this tradition, and pretend that Pay Zuma was the apoſtle ſaint Thomas.

FATHER Gonzalez now undertook to reconnoitre the Uruguay from one end to another. This river, which iſſues from ſome mountains in the neighbourhood of Brazil, between the 27th and 28th degrees of ſouth latitude, is no better than a rivulet at its ſource; but, ſoon encreaſed to a conſiderable degree by the acceſſion of ſeveral torrents, and, afterwards, by that of ſeveral rivers that fall into it on both ſides, it flows two hundred leagues between two chains of mountains, which confine it to a very narrow bed, and thereby render it extremely rapid. It, afterwards, widens ſo much, that, ſix hundred and ninety miles above its diſcharge into the Paraguay, a ten oar boat cannot croſs it in leſs than half an hour, though it runs there at a very ſlow rate. The country about it now begins to grow pretty even and agreeable, and abounds

abounds with the ſame animals and vegetables, that are found on the banks of the Parana.

But this river is as full of rocks, as that of Rio de la Plata is of ſand banks; and ſeveral of theſe rocks lie even with the ſurface of the water, ſo that there is no making uſe of ſails in it. The veſſels uſually employed upon it are called balzas, and conſiſt of two pirogues joined by ſeveral tranſverſe beams, two cubits aſunder, covered with planks. Upon theſe planks ſtands a tent to ſhelter the paſſengers from the heat of the ſun, and the injuries of the weather. The Uruguay abounds with fiſh, which are killed with arrows, when dead, floating to the ſurface, they are eaſily taken. Its banks abound with birds, ſeveral of them of all colours, particularly parrots, and the fly-bird ſo well known in Canada, perhaps, the moſt beautiful feathered creature in the univerſe. The tigers here are monſtruouſly large and fierce, and remarkable for the beauty of their ſkins, the ground of which is of a bright gold. When one of theſe animals is wounded, he immediately falls upon the man by whoſe arrow he was ſtruck; for he never fails to ſingle him out amongſt twenty others. Three Neophytes of the country, having one day diſcovered a tiger, and one of them, armed with a gun, having immediately fired at him; the animal directly flew at him, and would have torn him to pieces, had not the other two run him through and through in the ſpring he made to get at his aſſailant. The fields were formerly covered with lions, oſtriches, and deer; but, great numbers of them having been killed, the reſt retired to more ſolitary places. Though this country was full of inhabitants when the Spaniards arrived in Paraguay, it would now, perhaps, be little better than a deſart, were it not for the chriſtian reductions founded in it by Father

ther Gonzalez, who with the loſs of no lives but his own and that of his two companions, reduced this country to the obedience of the Catholic kings, after the Spaniards had in vain attempted to penetrate into it by force of arms. It is ſaid, that among the *Yaros* and *Charuas*, two nations living on the banks of this river, it is cuſtomary with thoſe who bury a relation, to cut off the joint of a finger or toe, beginning with the fingers; by which means many of them loſe all their fingers and toes very early; notwithſtanding which they walk and work very well.

It was about this time, that a province was taken from that of Paraguay, under the name of the province of Rio de la Plata. The *Tebiquari*, which runs into the Paraguay from the eaſt, was appointed the common boundary of theſe two provinces, of which that of Rio de la Plata was to have Buenos Ayres for its capital. It was, afterwards, ordered, that the reductions eſtabliſhed in the Guayra, and on the banks of the Parana, ſhould be under the juriſdiction of the governor and biſhop of Paraguay; and thoſe on the Uruguay, under that of the governor and biſhop of the new province. Don Manuel Arias was the firſt governor of Paraguay; and Don Diego Gongora, then in Spain, was appointed governor of Rio de la Plata.

Don Diego Gongora embarked for his government at Liſbon, where ſome private perſons having aſked leave to put ſome goods, in his name, on board the ſhip that was to carry him, he readily granted it againſt the expreſs letter of his inſtructions; the ſame indulgence having been often granted by other governors, and no notice taken of it. But, whether he had enemies or rivals who narrowly watched all his motions, or that he proceeded too openly, he had ſcarce put to ſea, when he was impeached before the royal council of the Indies

Indies, which immediately diſpatched a commiſſary, called Meloné, to take informations againſt him, and proceed to try him, in caſe there appeared ſufficient grounds to think him guilty.

Melone, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, found all the inhabitants charmed with their new governor; and was even given to underſtand, that, his errand having tranſpired, meaſures had been concerted to ſend him back, before he could perform it. Some days after, he and the Jeſuits quarrelled; on what account, I have not been able to diſcover; but, as he, probably, behaved with extraordinary paſſion on the occaſion, the inhabitants thought proper to take advantage of it to rid themſelves of ſo diſagreeable a gueſt. Some of them, therefore, went to father Perlino, rector of the college, and adviſed him to name a judge conſervator; which, at the ſame time that it ſecured him againſt the attempts of Melonè, from whom, they inſinuated, he had every thing to fear, would diſable this officer from proceeding againſt the governor. I ſhall ſpeak elſewhere of this privilege of naming a conſervator, and of the powers annexed to his office.

Father Perlino, too little verſed in matters of this nature to diſtinguiſh between thoſe conjunctures, in which his order might make uſe of this privilege granted by the popes, and authorized by the catholick kings in all their dominions, and thoſe, in which it could not take place, followed the advice that was given him, not penetrating the views of thoſe who gave it; he even did it without conſulting his provincial, as he ought to have done; and, what was probably worſe, named to that office, by the advice of the ſame perſons, one of thoſe who were moſt incenſed againſt Melonè. Be that as it will, the judge conſervator immediately iſſued a decree againſt the commiſſary, which

which obliged him to return to Spain. But he was no ſooner arrived there, than he complained of the rector to the council of the Indies, which, conſidering the decree of the judge conſervator as an attempt on their authority, applied to the general of the jeſuits for juſtice on Perlino, who had named him. The general immediately complied in the moſt ample manner. He diſavowed the rector; depoſed him; declared him incapable of any further ſuperiority; and ordered him back to Peru. But thoſe, who made a tool of him, did not eſcape with the bare mortification of ſeeing their conduct condemned in his. An order was ſent to Buenos Ayres to take cognizance of this intrigue; and all thoſe, who were found to have had a hand in it, were fined, to the amount, it is ſaid, of eighty thouſand gold crowns. During this proſecution, the province of Rio de la Plata was erected into a biſhoprick.

Father Gonzalez, having been obliged to deſiſt from his attempt to reconnoitre the Uruguay from its ſources to its diſcharge into the Paraguay, applied himſelf, and with good ſucceſs, to the eſtabliſhment of ſome reductions on the banks of that part of it which he had diſcovered; and, in the year 1627, undertook to ſurvey the province called *Tapé*, ſituated between that of Uruguay and Brazil. This country is, properly ſpeaking, a chain of mountains running two hundred leagues, from within eight days journey of the Uruguay to within fifteen leagues of the ſea of Brazil. Theſe mountains are divided by ſeveral vallies fit for paſture and every kind of grain, and interſected by numerous ſtreams of excellent water.

The commoneſt bird in this country is a very pretty white one called *Guirapé*, which ſignifies ringing bird, being remarkable for its note, which is extremely loud, and very like the ſound of a bell.

Among the trees found in the foreſts, there is a kind of palm tree ſcarce bigger than the Indian ruſh, whoſe bark yields a thread equal in fineneſs to the beſt ſilk. The Indians make bow-ſtrings of it. There are other palm trees here, near the ſources of the river called Igai, ſix ſcore feet high, which differ from the generality of the trees, of the ſame name, in this, that, as they grow, they produce tufts of branches in form of a crown; and theſe branches afterwards fall off of themſelves, leaving knots behind them, which harden to ſuch a degree, that one would take them for bone rather than wood. The fruit of this tree is little inferior to that of the European palm tree; and, accordingly, the inhabitants live chiefly upon it for ſeveral months of the year.

THERE is another tree here ſtill more ſingular, but it is found too in other countries. It is called the *Eſcapis*. They pretend, that after ſun-riſe there falls from it a very plentiful ſhower, while all the trees about it are perfectly dry. To conclude, there are ſome tranſparent pebbles in this country, which in Europe, it is ſaid, would be worth money.

BUT, perhaps, the greateſt ſingularity of the whole country is an amphibious animal pretty common, eſpecially in all the marſhy places of the eaſtern part of the country, that reſembles a ſheep, all to its having the teeth and claws of a tiger, and ſurpaſſing that animal in fierceneſs and cruelty. Accordingly, it never appears without cauſing a general conſternation among the Indians, who have ſcarce any method of avoiding its fury. It is to no purpoſe to climb up a tree, when theſe terrible creatures ſally out of their marſhes, which they generally do in large numbers; for they either root up the tree, in which they find any one has taken ſhelter, or remain at the foot of it, till the wretch-

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ed priſoners, exhauſted with hunger, tumble down for want of ſtrength to ſupport themſelves. When the indians have the good fortune to kill any of theſe creatures, they make of its ſkin a coat, called *Ao* in the Guarani language, which is likewiſe that of Tapé. Perhaps this is the name of the animal itſelf, for we are not told what it is.

The Indians of Tapé are a colony of the Guaranis, but a very ancient one, and the leaſt vicious of any. They are naturally mild; and there has not been diſcovered, in all ſouth America, a people better diſpoſed to receive the light of the goſpel, or more conſtant and zealous after receiving it. The love of liberty had inſpired them with a great averſion to ſtrangers, and they were too well intrenched in their mountains to be reduced by force. The apoſtles of Paraguay, however, met with no other difficulty in gaining them over to the Chriſtian religion, than that of getting to them to preach it. Accordingly, the Tapés, for a long time paſt, have made ſo conſiderable a part of the reductions of the Uruguay, that their name is often given, indifferently, to all the chriſtians that compoſe theſe eſtabliſhments.

But, how well ſoever the Tapés were diſpoſed to liſten to father Gonzalez, he could ſpend no more time among them, than what was requiſite to reconnoitre their country; and this precipitate return, it is probable, was occaſioned by ſome ſudden call for his aſſiſtance in the reductions already eſtabliſhed. Be that as it will, theſe reductions were attacked, the year following, by a great number of infidels headed by an apoſtate cacique, and father Gonzalez and another jeſuit glorioufly loſt their lives, with two other jeſuits, rather than abandon their flocks in this emergency. A third jeſuit was ſoon after ſurprized by another apoſtate cacique; and, after vari-

ous torments, ſtoned to death. But theſe unprovoked inſults were ſoon revenged. The new chriſtians, reinforced by a troop of Spaniſh horſe raiſed at the expence of a Portugueſe gentleman; a conſiderable party of Guarani Indians raiſed by father Boroa another jeſuit, ſettled at St. John of Corrientes; and four hundred Indians of thoſe under the conduct of ſome fathers of St. Francis, (the city of the Aſſumption having refuſed to give any aſſiſtance for the purpoſe,) attacked the infidels in their turn; killed great numbers of them; made a great many priſoners; and diſperſed the reſt beyond a poſſibility of rallying to give any further uneaſineſs. Their next care was to recover the precious remains of the deceaſed martyrs, which were tranſlated to the Aſſumption, and there interred with all the marks of honour due to ſuch ſtrenuous aſſertors of the rights of mankind, and zealous preachers of the goſpel.

The peace procured by this victory was ſoon troubled by a more formidable enemy. The year following, the Mamelus made an irruption into the Guayra. The firſt reduction that felt their fury was that of the Incarnation. Moſt of the proſelytes that compoſed it diſperſed time enough to ſave themſelves; but a great number of Neophytes, employed at a diſtance in country labours, were carried off; ſo that there ſcarce remained any hopes of hindering this town from being entirely deſtroyed, when father Montayo poſted to it, and by his preſence and his diſcourſe put in ſome meaſure, a ſtop to the conſternation that had ſeized the remaining inhabitants, whom he exhorted to take up arms, in order to reſcue their captive brethren; but he thought proper, that the fathers Mendoza and Domenecchi, their paſtors, ſhould firſt go with ſome of the principal men among them

them, and ſee what they could obtain from theſe banditti by fair means.

They, therefore, immediately ſet out; but they no ſooner appeared in ſight of the camp, than they were ſaluted by a ſhower of arrows and muſket balls, by which father Mendoza was ſlightly wounded, and one of the Neophytes killed. He made up, however, with his companion, to the Mamelus, who were ſo ſtunned at his reſolution, that, few endeavouring to ſtop them, they at laſt penetrated to the commander of the gang. They told him, that, unleſs he conſented to releaſe the priſoners he had taken, and retire without doing any further miſchief, he muſt expect to ſee all the Indians of the reductions upon his hands; and then finding him unwilling to part with his prey, went themſelves and aſſembled the poor creatures, and carried them off unmoleſted, the whole camp appearing thunderſtruck, in a manner, at ſo undaunted a proceeding.

This unexpected ſucceſs encouraged father Montayo to pay the Mamelus a viſit in his turn; and he threatened them with the anger of heaven, and the indignation of his catholic majeſty, their ſovereign, Portugal and all the Portugueſe dominions being ſubject to Spain. But he ſpoke to men, that feared neither God nor king; and all the ſatisfaction he could obtain, was to hear orders immediately given to attack the reduction. This, however, was but a mere bravado; for the Mamelus ſoon turned another way, giving out, that they had no deſign but upon the wild Indians. Though father Montayo judged that little ſtreſs was to be laid upon this report, yet, finding that it contributed greatly to quiet the Neophytes, he ſeemed to give credit to it. The Mamelus, however, did not appear again for a long time, and the

miſſionaries made the beſt uſe of this calm, to ſtrengthen and extend their ſpiritual conqueſts. Among other new reductions, one was formed upon an eminence, which the natives call the cemetery of *Pay Zumo*, becauſe, according to the ancient tradition already taken notice of, St. Thomas had interred there a great number of chriſtians; for which reaſon this new reduction was called by the name of that holy apoſtle.

1629. By this time, the number of reductions in the provinces of Guayra and Uruguay, and on the banks of the Parana, amounted to twenty one; but many of them were as yet in a ſtate of infancy, and ſome even but juſt traced out. The chriſtians of moſt were as yet but novices in the faith; and the number of the proſelytes exceeded greatly that of the Neophytes. All, indeed, had renounced their groſſer vices; but the force of education and cuſtom made them from time to time relapſe into practices, that kept their paſtors perpetually in alarm. In ſhort, though there was not a ſingle reduction among them, that did not, now and then, produce examples of the moſt heroic virtue, none, except ſome of the moſt ancient, had acquired conſiſtency enough to baniſh all apprehenſions from the breaſts of thoſe who governed them. One of the greateſt obſtacles theſe fathers had to contend with, after they had brought theſe Indians together, was the aſcendency their pretended conjurers had gained over them. For theſe impoſtors, however ignorant, had often art enough to inveigle many, who were otherwiſe very well affected to the chriſtian religion.

1630. In the year 1630, Don Lewis de Ceſpedez put into a port of Brazil, in order to repair from thence by land to the capital of Paraguay,

guay, of which he had been lately appointed governor. This route had been expreſsly forbid, for ſome years paſt, under the ſevereſt penalties, even to the ſupreme magiſtrates, leſt the Spaniards ſhould commit, on their journey, any diſorders that might ſcandalize the Neophytes; but Don Lewis pretended to have a ſpecial licence for taking this road. It is, beſides, certain, that the governors may, as often as they think proper, viſit the reductions within their province; but, on ſuch occaſions, they are very cautious whom they chuſe to wait upon them. Be that as it will, the new governor happened to be at St. Paul of Piratiningue at a time, that nine hundred Mamelus and two thouſand Indians were preparing to break into the province of Guayra, under the conduct of Anthony Raſpoſo, one of their moſt famous commanders. The governor, after travelling by land a little further, embarked on a river, which brought him to the reduction of Loretto, where he made ſome ſtay; and father Montayo cauſed the greateſt honours to be paid to him.

Don Lewis repaid theſe expreſſions of duty with very harſh language, which the miſſionaries received with great modeſty, and without making the leaſt reply. The governor, however, could not refuſe his admiration to the order that reigned in this town; though, on father Montayo's applying to him for aſſiſtance againſt the Mamelus, whom he heard were already on their march, and had reaſon to think would pay him a viſit, he told him he could not give him any.

Soon after father Mola, paſtor of St. Anthony, having refuſed to reſtore to theſe banditti, a cacique that had made his eſcape from them, and taken refuge in that reduction, alledging, that, as the man was born free, and, beſides, under the king's pro-

tection, that he could not, in honour or juſtice, deliver him up, they immediately fell upon his Indians; put to the ſword all thoſe who attempted to make any reſiſtance; butchered, even at the foot of the altar, ſuch as fled there for refuge; loaded the principal men with chains; and plundered the church. Some of them having entered the miſſionary's houſe, in hopes of finding a conſiderable booty there; on meeting with nothing but a thread bare ſoutane, and a few tattered ſhirts, ſhewed them to the Indians, telling them, they muſt be very fooliſh to take for maſters, ſtrangers who came into their country, merely becauſe they had not wherewith to live in their own; that they would be much happier in Brazil, where they would want for nothing, and would not be obliged to maintain their paſtors.

These, no doubt, were fine ſpeeches to be made to people loaded with chains, and whoſe relations and countrymen had been but that inſtant butchered under their eyes. Accordingly, thoſe, who ſpoke in this manner, ſoon perceived, that their promiſes were received with the contempt they deſerved; and, thereupon, continued their violences. Father Mola in vain threw himſelf at the commander's feet; repreſented to him the innocence and ſimplicity of theſe poor Indians; conjured him by all that was moſt ſacred, to ſet bounds to the fury of the ſoldiers; and, at laſt, threatened him with the indignation of heaven. He had often diſarmed the moſt cruel canibals by his tears and his entreaties, but now found that it is much harder to make an impreſſion on chriſtians, who have once ſhut their eyes againſt the laws of God and man, than on barbarians and infidels. Having told theſe ſavages, that, after ſo many cruelties and profanations, there was ſcarce any room left

left to hope for their salvation, they answered him, that it was enough to be baptized to gain admittance into heaven; and that they would make their way into it, though God himself should oppose their entrance.

After the departure of these miscreants, some of the prisoners they had taken found means to make their escape, and returned to join father Mola, and such of their brethren, as had time to take refuge in the woods. The father, they found amidst the ruins of his reduction; sunk in the deepest sorrow. However, he rouzed himself at the sight of them, and persuaded them to retire, along with him to the reduction of the Incarnation. But, after escaping the fury of the Mamelus, he was on the point of perishing by the hands of those for whose sake he had exposed himself to it. Several of the Indians took it into their heads, that he might have had a private understanding with these wretches; and, having communicated their sentitiments to others, they were about proceeding to extremities, when his mildness, and his arguments to prove how ill grounded their suspicions were, and the unshaken fidelity of the rest, who had not given into this error, luckily disarmed them. But, if he escaped this danger, it was only to fall into a much greater. A large body of idolatrous Indians, who knew nothing of the misfortune befallen the reduction of St. Anthony, happening to come there the day following, and not meeting with any thing but heaps of rubbish and dead bodies, immediately concluded, that he was the author of all the mischief; set out in the tracks of him and his company, in order to sacrifice him to their revenge; and missed him but by a few hours.

The reduction of St. Michael lay much nearer to St. Anthony's, than that of the Incarnation; but

but, for that very reaſon, father Mola did not think proper to retreat to it, as moſt expoſed to the enemy; and the ſame conſideration induced the fathers Mendoza and Manſilla, who were ſtationed there, to adviſe their Neophytes, the moment they heard of what had happened at St. Anthony's, to withdraw to the Incanation; which, they repreſented to them, the Mamelus would not venture to attack, when they heard that ſo many men were aſſembled there, all upon their guard, and prepared to give them a warm reception. Several approved this meaſure; and father Manſilla, for fear they ſhould change their opinion, immediately conducted them there. He then returned to St. Michael; and, as he could not prevail on the Indians he had left behind him, to follow their townſmen, he perſuaded them to take ſhelter in the woods. As to him and his colleague, they remained in the reduction with two young chriſtians, to ſee the end of this ſtorm, though in no ſmall danger from their own flock. The ſuſpicions firſt formed againſt father Mola had, by this time, it ſeems, gained ſeveral reductions. And it is more than probable, that the Mamelus had inſtilled them, ſince they were known, for certain, to have put the ſame ſtratagem in practice on many other occaſions, in order to incenſe the Indians againſt their moſt zealous defenders. Be that as it will, a detachment was immediately ſent from the Incarnation to St. Michael, to withdraw ſuch of the inhabitants as might have returned there from the woods; but it was unfortunately intercepted by a conſiderable body of Mamelus, who threw every man of thoſe that compoſed it, into chains, and then marched to St. Michael, which they reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. On this occaſion father Mendoza was wounded with an arrow. The alarm now became general all over the province of Guaray

array. However, as the reduction of Jeſus-Maria, where Guiravara, a powerful cacique, and formerly a cruel enemy of the chriſtians, had remained ſince his converſion, was very populous, the Neophytes flattered themſelves, that the Mamelus would not attack it; and flocked to it, from all quarters, as to a ſecure aſylum. But in this they greatly deceived themſelves, for want of knowing, that a ſecond body of theſe banditti had taken the field. Emmanuel Morato, who commanded this body, approached Jeſus-Maria ſo ſecretly, that the Neophytes there heard nothing of him till he was on the point of attacking it; and, even then, knew ſo little of him and his intentions, that they ſent to him to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy.

Morato made no anſwer to this meſſage but by loading with chains, thoſe who brought it. Upon this, father Maceta, paſtor of this reduction, imagining that the commander would reſpect his character as a prieſt, though he paid no regard to his perſon, went out to meet him in his ſacerdotal habits, with a crucifix carried before him. But this religious appearance, which, in the main, was not, perhaps, altogether ſo ſeaſonable, ſerved only to bring affronts upon him.

An Indian cacique who accompanied him paid dearer for his courage; for, on his telling Morato, how much he was ſcandalized at this behaviour of chriſtians to a prieſt, he was fired at by a Mamelus, and fell dead at the miſſionary's feet; and the father had like to have ſhared the ſame fate, on reproaching the brute who had fired the ſhot with his wanton cruelty.

At laſt, the enemy entered the reduction without any further oppoſition; and ſoon reduced it to the ſame condition, in which their fellow robbers had left thoſe of St. Anthony and St. Michael.

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Many of them attempted to offer violence to ſome chriſtian virgins, as choſe to be butchered rather than yield to their brutal paſſion. Such of the Indians, who had not ſaved themſelves by an early flight, were killed, or loaded with chains; and Guiravara and his wife happened to be of the number. The paſtors of two other reductions had ſet out, in the mean time, with the Neophytes under their care, to the aſſiſtance of their diſtreſſed brethren; but they arrived too late to do any thing but purſue the Mamelus, now retiring with their captives, and reſcue from them ſome of theſe unhappy creatures, who were brought to the Incarnation, where it was reſolved, that the fathers Maceta and Manſilla ſhould follow the enemy to Brazil, in order to complain, to the captain general of that kingdom, of the hoſtilities committed by the ſubjects of his government, in a country belonging to the catholic king his ſovereign.

These fathers, accordingly, ſet out the ſame day, and ſoon came up with the Mamelus. At the ſight of their Neophytes, chained together like galley ſlaves, Father Maceta could no longer contain his zeal and tenderneſs. He ran up to embrace them, in ſpite of the cock'd muſkets with which he was threatened, and vollies of blows poured upon him at every ſtep. At laſt, raiſing his voice, he beſeeched the commander to reſtore to him his dear children, whom he had engendered in Jeſus Chriſt, or admit him to carry the ſame chain with them. But his entreaties ſerved only to procure him the treatment due to a fool and a madman. One of the officers, however, conſented to let him have ſome of the priſoners, who had fallen to his ſhare, on the father's promiſing him a ranſom for them.

Encouraged by this dawn of ſucceſs, the father turned another way; and, putting about his neck a chain

chain, to which ſeveral Neophytes, and, among the reſt, Guiravara and his ſpouſe were faſtened, he declared he would not part with it, till he obtained their liberty; and, addreſſing himſelf to the cacique, who before baptiſm had uſed father Maceta very cruelly, kiſſing his chain, he told him, that he was overjoyed to be able to ſhew him on this occaſion, that he harboured no reſentment of his ill uſage, and aſſured him, that he would expoſe himſelf to every danger, in order to procure him his liberty. So many objects, capable of melting the hardeſt hearts, might, one would imagine, make an immediate impreſſion on the officer, to whom theſe captives belonged; but they for ſome time ſerved only to irritate him, and the miſſionary was more than once in danger of having his brains blown out on his refuſing to retire. His conſtancy, however, got the better, at laſt, of the cruelty of this officer, who gave him up Guiravara, his wife, and ſix other priſoners, whom the father immediately ſent to the Incarnation under an eſcort.

Father Maceta then returned to father Manſilla; and both, accompanied only by three Indians, continued to follow their priſoners at ſome diſtance, without any thing to live upon, but ſuch wild fruits as they could gather in the woods, or making any ſtop but what was neceſſary to aſſiſt thoſe, whom their conductors abandoned, when they could drag them no further. Theſe were ſick women, and perſons advanced in years, who in vain claimed the rights of nature, and the ſervice of their huſbands and children; and were all ſo worn down, that many of them, it is probable, who, more dead than alive, made a ſhift to crawl into the woods to look for ſomething to ſupport nature, periſhed there by wild beaſts. The two miſſionaries baptized the catechumens, and confeſſed the chriſtians; and comforted them all, by placing before their

their eyes the celeſtial rewards, with which their patience and reſignation would be ſpeedily recompenſed.

In this manner the fathers travelled till they reached St. Paul of Piratiningue, where, though the jeſuits had ſtill a college, they found it impoſſible to make them ſtay ever ſo ſhort a time to recruit their forces exhauſted by ſo many days conſtant faſting and fatigue; for, as they immediately ſaw, that they could expect no redreſs from the magiſtrates there, who enjoyed but a mere ſhadow of authority, they made what haſte they could to Rio Janeiro. As ſoon as they arrived there, they preſented two petitions to the ſovereign council; to obtain the enlargement of their Neophytes, and a ſafeguard againſt any future attacks upon their properties and perſons. But all the anſwer they could obtain was, that the captain general of Brazil could alone grant their requeſt; upon which they ſet out for the bay of All-Saints.

Don Diego Lewis Oliveyra, governor and captain general of this kingdom, received them very kindly; acknowledged the juſtice of their demands; and appointed a commiſſary to repair with them to St. Paul of Piratiningue, in order to ſee ample and immediate ſatisfaction done them; but, as Don Diego ſeemed to have no thoughts of giving this commiſſary a ſuffiicent force to exact obedience to his commands, the miſſionaries conjectured, that he named him merely for form ſake. Don Oliveyra had two reaſons for not going, on this occaſion, the lengths he otherwiſe would have done. The firſt was, that the Dutch, already maſters of the coaſt of Fernambuc, threatened to overrun Brazil, and all his forces were little enough to make head againſt them; the other, that the fifteen thouſand captives, whom the Mamelus had car-

carried off with them from the province of Guayra, having been already ſold in the different ports of Brazil, and many of them to perſons in office, he was afraid of diſobliging ſome powerful families, by ordering them to be ſet at liberty, eſpecially at a time, when he thought himſelf under a neceſſity of maintaining a good intelligence with all the inhabitants.

THESE reaſons, after all, were by many perſons judged inſufficient to juſtify Oliveyra's paſſiveneſs in a conjuncture, where the honour of the Portugueſe nation, and the intereſt of religion, were equally concerned; and ſeveral have ſince attributed the ſucceſs of the Dutch, in Brazil, to the countenance afforded to the Mamelus; the avarice of thoſe, who made a hand of the depopulation of the churches of Paraguay; and the cruelty, with which ſo many thouſand chriſtians, carried off into ſlavery, were treated; in ſo much, that numbers of them periſhed merely through want, exceſs of labour, and ill uſage. On this occaſion, a Portugueſe gentleman, called Jerom Vega, adviſed father Maceta to wait, in perſon, on his catholic majeſty with an account of theſe enormities, and even offered to ſupply him with money for the voyage; but the miſſionary, having received certain intelligence of the Mamelus preparing to make a ſecond irruption into the province of Guayra, thought proper to return, with his companion to their churches. In their way to Rio Janeiro, they had the good fortune to recover twelve of their Neophytes; but, on their arrival at St. Paul, they ſaw themſelves ſhut up in a kind of priſon.

THE commiſſary of the captain general, who had ſtaid behind them at the bay of All-Saints, arrived ſoon after; but had ſcarce entered upon the execution of his office, when a formal declaration made

made by the inhabitants, that they would ſuffer themſelves to be unbaptized rather than permit him to proceed any further, and an attempt made upon his life, determined him to ſlip away as ſoon as he could from ſo lawleſs a crew of banditti. On his departure, however, the two jeſuits, whom the rector of the college had reclaimed, were releaſed; and immediately ſet out for their miſſions, where they had the further mortification of finding numbers of their Neophytes more perſuaded than ever, that they had aſſembled them merely to betray them into the hands of their moſt cruel enemies.

It was to no purpoſe theſe fathers put them in mind of the great trouble and expence, fatigue and danger, they had undergone, to preſerve them from the fury, or deliver them out of the hands, of the Portugueſe of Brazil; it was in vain they aſked them, what intereſt their paſtors could have in betraying them into the hands of ſtrangers, from whom they had nothing to expect. Deſpair had rendered them deaf to all theſe arguments. Many of them were on the point of revolting openly, and even retaliating, on their paſtors, the ill uſage they had received from their enemies, when Guiravara took publickly their defence, though he already began to grow cool in the chriſtian faith, which, it is ſaid, he ſoon after entirely renounced. He could not hear what was alledged againſt the miſſionaries without treating it as the blackeſt calumny. He, even, went from reduction to reduction, in order to publiſh his obligations to father Maceta, who had expoſed himſelf to every thing in order to reſcue him from ſlavery; adding, that it was neither this father's fault, nor that of father Manſilla, if all the captives had not recovered their liberty.

1630-31.

1630-31. About this time, the ſuperiors of the jeſuits were obliged to withdraw the two miſſionaries they had ſtationed in the valley of Calchaqui, and who, though they ſcarce made any converſions, were of great ſervice in preventing the Spaniards from attacking its inhabitants and thereby bringing upon themſelves an enemy they were ſeldom able to cope with. Accordingly, theſe fathers no ſooner diſappeared, than the Spaniards fell upon them without any provocation; as though the poor natives, on ceaſing to be their enemies, were obliged to become their ſlaves. But theſe violators of the rights of mankind ſoon received the retribution due to ſuch wickedneſs. At firſt indeed, they defeated a body of Calchaquis, reinforced by a conſiderable number of Indians under command, who, after killing their maſters, had taken refuge among them; but they were afterwards worſted in their turn. A new citadel built to awe theſe Indians, and the town of London, were taken and deſtroyed by them; the neighbourhood of Salta plundered; and the province of Tucuman laid open to the incurſions of an enemy, who, for ten years together, kept it in continual alarms.

The jeſuits flattered themſelves, that they ſhould ſpeedily be indemnified for the obſtacle, which the Spaniards had by this war ſo wantonly raiſed to the introducing of the goſpel elſewhere. In the vaſt foreſts that lie between the Parana and the Uruguay, ſome of theſe miſſionaries had lately diſcovered a ſmall nation called *Caaiguas*, that is to ſay inhabitants of the foreſts. The Caaiguas have no fixed habitation, but are conſtantly roving up and down in ſmall parties. They build little ſlight huts, covered with branches, in the places where they make any ſtay; but they never lay up any proviſions, depending entirely on their arrows, with which they kill, indifferently, both water and

land game. When this reſource fails them, they devour worms, piſmires, vipers, and ſuch other reptiles, with which the country abounds. They likewiſe eat tigers, when they can kill any; and monkeys, whom they purſue to the tops of the higheſt trees, which they climb as nimbly as the monkeys themſelves. But they often loſe their pains, for the monkeys, when the Indians think they have made ſure of them, leap from one tree to another; and that, too, loaded with their young ones. Their beſt food is the fleſh of an animal, probably the ſame with the Anta already deſcribed. They make nothing of grappling theſe animal sand wreſtling with them, till they have thrown them down, when they knock out their brains. They likewiſe make great uſe of wild honey, with which they make a kind of hydromel, of ſo hot a nature, that it is ſaid to make them inſenſible to the greateſt cold. The reaſon given for this nation being ſo thin, is that the tigers devour numbers of their women and children.

As to the perſons of the Caaiguas, they are, in general, hump-backed, and bow-necked. Some of them, however, are tolerably well made; and their women ſcarce yield in whiteneſs to the Spaniſh, which is, no doubt, owing to their reſiding conſtantly in the thickeſt parts of their foreſts. The men wear nothing but a few ſcraps of ſkins, which ſcarce hide any thing. The women make uſe of a kind of apron made in form of a net with nettle thread, that reaches from the waiſt to the knees. It is aſſured, that the ſkins of theſe Indians harden to ſuch a degree, that they paſs unhurt, like ſerpents, through the moſt thorny buſhes. Their language is very hard to learn, and their pronunciation very harſh and diſagreeable. It is a kind of hiſſing, ſo little articulate, that one would imagine their words did nothing but roll in their throats.

These Indians, after all, are very peaceable, though ſo wild, that the Spaniards have never been able to civilize one of them. All thoſe, who fell into their hands, ſuffered themſelves to ſtarve, rather than take any nouriſhment; and, while they lived, did nothing but foam like madmen, and bite the chains they were bound with. Even the miſſionaries, who found means to draw ſome of them into the reductions, could not, with all their care and attention, keep them alive for any time. The minute they ſaw themſelves cooped up in a town, they fell into a melancholy, which ſoon turned to a conſumption. In this ſad condition, however, good uſage rendered them docile, and the miſſionaries improved the happy change to give them all the inſtruction they were capable of receiving, and then baptize them. But none of them ſurvived this ceremony for any long time. As to founding reductions in their foreſts, it was judged impracticable by many miſſionaries, who penetrated into the center of them with infinite danger and fatigue. One of theſe miſſionaries, however, having prevailed upon eighteen of them to follow him, though he took infinite pains to qualify them for baptiſm, was obliged to defer it to their laſt moments; for, with all his tenderneſs, he found it impoſſible to ſave one of them. There are, in the midſt of the Caaiguas, other Indians, who, though known by the ſame name, ſpeak a different language, and have no communication with them. They are ſaid to be warlike; but, in fact, they reſemble beaſts of prey more than human creatures; for all their exploits conſiſt in ſurprizing travellers, whom they murder and devour. When they, themſelves, happen to be taken, they behave like the Caaiguas in the ſame ſituation, and will not ſuffer any wounds they have received to be dreſſed.

As the miſſionaries could obtain no ſafeguard for their churches, they were greatly ſurprized, that the Mamelus ſo long delayed paying them a ſecond viſit. But it ſoon appeared, that theſe banditti waited only to conclude an alliance with the *Tupis*, the moſt barbarous of the Brazilian Indians. Accordingly, they attacked, the year following, the reduction of St. Paul, whoſe inhabitants were ſo litle upon their guard, that father Suarez, their paſtor, knew nothing of their approach, till the commander entered his houſe piſtol in hand. The father, at the ſight of him, fell proſtrate at his feet; and beſeeched him, with tears in his eyes, to ſpare a parcel of poor chriſtians, who had done nothing to deſerve the chains he had prepared for them. But the brute anſwered him only, by clapping his piſtol to his breaſt, which the miſſionary calmly opened, telling him, that he was ſatisfied to lay down his life for his flock, and conjuring him in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, to content himſelf with it. This ſpeech ſeemed to make ſome impreſſion on the officer, and he went out without ſpeaking a ſingle word. But it was only to give orders for putting to the ſword all thoſe who ſhould make the leaſt reſiſtance; and theſe orders were but too punctually obeyed. He, then, came back to father Suarez; gave him great marks of eſteem; but would not permit him to take leave of his beloved Neophytes, ſeveral of whom, however, made their eſcape and fled to the reductions of St. Francis Xavier and of Jeſus-Maria lately eſtabliſhed in the neighbourhood of the caſcade of Guibay, where they met the inhabitants of the Incarnation, who, having received timely notice of the enemy's approach, abandoned their habitations to avoid them.

FATHER Montayo no ſooner heard of the Mamelus having entered the province of Guayra, than he

he made all the haſte in his power to the aſſiſtance of the reductions moſt expoſed to their fury. But, on his finding no inhabitants either in that of St. Paul, or that of the Incarnation, he thought the beſt thing he could do, was to put himſelf at the head of all the fugitive and wandering Neophytes he could meet with, and conduct them towards Villarica. But he ſoon heard that the inhabitants of this place were before hand with him, and had picked up all thoſe who had eſcaped the Mamelus and put them to work for their private benefit. Upon this, he immediately repaired to Villarica; complained bitterly to the magiſtrates of this injuſtice; and when he could obtain no redreſs from them, diſpatched father Diaz Tano to the Aſſumption to demand it of Don Lewis Ceſpedez the governor, and conjure him to take ſome effectual meaſures for the ſafety of the reductions.

Don Lewis would ſcarce liſten to the miſſionary. He even told him, he had heard from Villarica, that the jeſuits made a great noiſe about trifles; adding, that they every where made themſelves very odious. The father retired without making any reply to theſe diſagreeable compliments; but that day, or the day following, preſented a petition to him, in the name of his catholic majeſty, to exert himſelf in behalf of the chriſtians of Guayra. But Don Lewis would not ſo much as anſwer it. This was not the only proof of ill will, which this governor had given the reductions. Some time before, he had iſſued an order forbidding all perſons, without exception, to croſs the Parana, in their way from the province of Uruguay to that of Guayra, or from the latter to the former; and thereby the miſſionaries, and even their provincial often obliged to hurry from province to province on the moſt preſſing affairs, were laid under

a neceſſity of taking a round of one hundred leagues; nor could all the repreſentations made to him on the inconveniences neceſſarily attending ſuch long journeys, at a time when the province of Guayra was overrun by the Mamelus, make him conſent to the leaſt qualification or exception. He even had given ſome very broad hints, that he intended to ſubmit, to encommenderoes, all the Indians directed by the fathers of the company. It is, however, probable, that he never attempted to put this deſign into execution, as he ſoon received a check by the audience of Charcas declaring this edict of his prejudicial to his catholic majeſty's ſervice.

The provincial of the jeſuits had no ſooner received this declaration, than he immediately ſet out for the province of Guayra. On his arrival at Villarica he received advice, that the Mamelus had again taken the field, and were at the reduction of St. Francis Xavier, where he prevailed on ſome of the Spaniards to follow him to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants. But they came too late; the enemy had already entirely demoliſhed it, and were now entrenched on its ruins, after loading all the chriſtians with irons. The Spaniards, however, attacked them with great reſolution, till one of them was killed and another wounded, when they thought proper to ſound the retreat. Father Sylveira, who governed this church, behaved with more conſtancy; for he ſtuck to the Mamelus, till, out of fifteen hundred families of which his flock conſiſted, he had the good fortune to ſave upwards of five hundred perſons. In the mean time, ſo great a terror had ſeized the inhabitants of St. Joſeph, ſituated at no great diſtance from St. Francis Xavier, that it was found impoſſible to quiet them. Several diſperſed into the woods; the reſt, to the number of four hundred, were, fortunately,

tunately, kept together by the cares of the provincial; and, with the remains of St. Francis Xavier, formed into a new reduction.

1631. The provincial, after this, repaired to the canton of Tayaoba, which, it was reported, the enemy were preparing to attack; and, accordingly, he had ſcarce arrived there, when he received certain accounts of their approach. Upon this, therefore, he immediately aſſembled the miſſionaries of three very populous and flouriſhing reductions ſituated in this country, in order to conſult with them, what was to be done in ſo preſſing a danger. The opinions were divided. Some were for exhorting the Neophytes to defend themſelves bravely, in hopes that even the wild Indians would not refuſe to aſſiſt them againſt a common enemy. This, they ſaid, was the only way left to prevent the entire diſſipation of this infant church. The reſt repreſented the little reaſon there was to expect, that Indians, ill armed and quite undiſciplined, ſhould be able to make a ſtand againſt veteran troops, provided with fire arms, and headed by able officers; and whom, beſides, an uſeleſs reſiſtance could only ſerve to exaſperate; that it would, therefore, be more adviſeable to conduct all thoſe, that could be prevailed upon to remove, to ſome other province; and that, how ſmall ſoever their number might happen to be, a great deal fewer would be loſt this way, than by venturing to reſiſt an enemy, whom there was ſo little probability of their being able to withſtand.

This laſt advice was approved by the provincial, who, accordingly, gave immediate orders for conducting all the Neophytes into the neighbourhood of the great fall of the Parana, that, in caſe of purſuit, they might be able, by juſt croſſing the river, to make a barrier of it, which it would be an

eaſy matter to defend againſt the Mamelus. This done, he aſſembled the Neophytes themſelves; exhorted them not to ſeparate from their paſtors, who, they muſt be ſenſible, had their welfare greatly at heart. He then ſet forward himſelf to prepare every thing for their reception; but was ſcarce ſet out, when, the danger growing greater and greater every moment, it was thought neceſſary to follow him. The miſſionaries hitherto had ſome reaſon to hope, that all the chriſtians were willing to follow them; but they had no ſooner given orders to begin the march, than it appeared they had greatly impoſed upon themſelves. Several refuſed to come out of their houſes at any rate; and a great many, who had already ſet out, were ſo frightened at the badneſs of the roads, that they returned back again. Some openly revolted; and Father Mendoza, was on the point of being murdered in endeavouring to ſtop one of the moſt incenſed. But the poor creatures, ſoon paid dear for their diſobedience, as all thoſe, who remained in their reductions, or attempted to find out other retreats, than thoſe agreed upon by the miſſionaries, fell into the hands of the Mamelus, or were taken by ſome wild Indians, who butchered ſome of them, and made ſlaves of the reſt. Some Spaniards even were not aſhamed to take advantage of the diſtreſs of theſe churches, and expreſs more pleaſure at their deſtruction, than they had ſhewn uneaſineſs at their eſtabliſhment.

Those, who retreated with the miſſionaries, made ſuch good ſpeed, that, though the Mamelus purſued them, none fell into their hands but a few laggers. On this occaſion, theſe banditti plundered the inhabitants of St. Peter, and the Conception, through which they paſſed; but carried off none but two women of ſome note, theſe Indians having the character of not being fit for ſervice. Father Salazar,

Salazar, however, who had the direction of the reduction where this act of violence was committed, had like to have paid very dear for it. The Indians thought proper to make him responsible for it; and some of the most furious fell upon him, while he was saying mass; threatened to kill him in case he did not oblige the Mamelus to give up their prey; stript him of his sacerdotal robes; tore his gown off his back; plundered his house; and even attempted to wrest out of his hands the sacred vessels, so that he at last found himself under a necessity of retiring through the woods, accompanied by two children only, in order to join the other missionaries, who, like himself, had been despoiled of their flocks; and many of whom had been left without a single Neophyte.

He found them overwhelmed with grief, and in the most absolute want of every thing; without a single christian that did not weep the loss of a father or a mother, a wife or a husband, a son or a daughter, murdered or loaded with chains before their eyes. The most pressing want was that of provisions; they directly sowed the little grain they had saved, while the provincial went in search of more immediate assistance. But they might as well have spared themselves this trouble; for two expresses soon arrived, one on the heels of the other, with an account, that an army of the Mamelus had made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Villarica; that another swarm of Banditti had issued from the south coast of Brazil; and that even the spanish towns and settlements were threatened with a visit from them.

As this account agreed with what a Mamelus had some time before told one of the missionaries, father Montayo, superior of the missions, sent to summon the commandant of Villarica, in the king's name, and in virtue of his majesty's orders, to send

ſend him immediate aſſiſtance; and, on his receiving for anſwer, that it was not poſſible to give him any, he gave orders for evacuating the reductions of St. Ignatius and Loretto, the only ſtill ſubſiſting in the province of Guayra, and the firſt that had been founded there. Theſe towns might compare with the moſt flouriſhing among the Spaniſh cities in Paraguay; and even ſurpaſſed them in the beauty and largeneſs of their churches. As to the inhabitants themſelves, they were not to be diſtinguiſhed from the old chriſtians, but by their ſuperior innocence and piety. They had great herds of black cattle, bred from ſome which their miſſionaries had brought from very diſtant places; all their lands were well cultivated; they raiſed cotton in great quantities, ſo as not only to have enough for their own uſe, but wherewith to make large donations to ſuch reductions, as were not yet in a condition to procure themſelves a ſufficient quantity of that uſeful article; and even to poor Spaniards; and there was the greateſt reaſon to hope, that the other reductions of the province would ſoon obtain the ſame degree of perfection.

But this fine appearance, after giving ſo much joy to the authors of it, was now become a foundation for equal concern, as they could not but apprehend, that theſe Neophytes would expoſe their lives and liberties to the greateſt danger rather than abandon ſuch fine eſtabliſhments, and the fruits of ſo many years labour, which they now were juſt beginning to taſte, in order to look out for an exile in a remote country; and this, too, without more than a bare probability of being able to reach it, though with the greateſt certainty, in a manner, of being reduced, on their arrival there, to the utmoſt miſery and diſtreſs. How great, therefore, muſt the ſurprize of theſe fathers have been

been, when, on the very firſt propoſal they made to the Neophytes of preparing to part with every thing they could not conveniently carry away along with them, they unanimouſly anſwered, "we are indebted to you, fathers, for the ineſtimable bleſſing of being chriſtians, and we ſtand in need of your aſſiſtance to continue ſo; therefore, where ever you go, we will cheerfully follow. If hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, and the other inconveniences inſeparable from ſo long a journey, prove fatal to our aged fathers and mothers, our wives and little ones, we ſhall comfort ourſelves with the thoughts of their having expoſed themſelves to theſe dangers, difficulties, and diſtreſſes, merely to preſerve their religion; and that God himſelf will be their reward. In fine, ſhould we come to want ſupport and refreſhment for our bodies, the bread of angels, which we are not afraid to be deprived of, as long as you remain with us, will give us ſtrength and courage to encounter every evil."

These ſentiments were not the effect of a tranſitory fervour; for the proper ſignal of departure had no ſooner been given in the two reductions, than all the inhabitants ſtript their churches and houſes, with a holy inſenſibility, of every thing they could reſcue from the rapacity of their enemies. This done, they embarked upon the Paranapané, which ſoon brought them into the Parana; and then deſcended this laſt as far as the great fall, in ſpite of all the inhabitants of Ciudad Real could do to retain them in their neighbourhood. All the Indians of the other reductions, whom their paſtors could prevail upon not to ſtay behind, had either joined them already, or arrived ſoon after; and the whole number amounted to two thouſand five hundred families.

But

But the pleaſure the miſſionaries muſt have felt, at having conducted them ſo far, was greatly allayed by the miſery to which they ſaw them reduced, and the remembrance of thoſe left behind, who, they muſt know, were expoſed to much greater; nor was it long before their grief received a conſiderable addition from a certain report, that the Mamelus, on finding the reductions of Loretto and Ignatius evacuated, had reſolved to purſue the fugitives; and were, accordingly, making ſuch forced marches to overtake them, that it was impoſſible to prevent their doing it, without making a barrier of a great caſcade, above which they were now aſſembled; an undertaking, which required a great deal of time; and was, beſides, attended with a great many difficulties.

The greateſt difficulty was that of conveying boats enough through the fall to anſwer the purpoſes of the tranſmigrants when arrived at the bottom of it; and, next, that of conducting ſo great a number of men and women of all ages, and ſo many ſick perſons, for thirty leagues together, before they could reach the plain, through the moſt inhoſpitable country. But there was no time to loſe in deliberation. In this preſſing neceſſity, therefore, it was reſolved to abandon the boats to the current, and they were all daſhed to pieces; ſeveral Neophytes were drowned; others, ſunk under the fatigues of an eight days march, at one time, over ſands expoſed to the fiery rays of a perpendicular ſun, at another, over rugged rocks, bordered with precipices, where every falſe ſtep proved fatal to the unhappy traveller. They were all, beſides, heavily laden; ſome, with the baggage and others, with the ſick; the women with their little ones; and the miſſionaries, with their chapels and paſtoral ſolicitude. Accordingly, they all arrived more dead than alive at the end of their journey,

ney, where, to increaſe their diſtreſs, they ſoon fell ſhort of proviſions, though the reductions on the Parana had ſent them all the refreſhments they could poſſibly collect.

This ſcarcity made it impoſſible to remain here any longer, ſo that, after a few days repoſe, they found themſelves obliged to begin a new march. To render it the eaſier, the miſſionaries divided them into four bodies, one of which had orders to coaſt the Parana; two others, to direct their courſe through the woods on both ſides of the river towards the reductions eſtabliſhed on the Acaray and the Iguazu; of the fourth, which conſiſted of thoſe who were no longer in a condition to walk, ſome were embarked on boats ſent them by the reductions juſt now mentioned; but the greater number, for want of room, were obliged to be left behind on both ſides of the great fall, where, for upwards of four months, they had nothing but wild fruits to live on. Thoſe, however, who took advantage of the boats, were rather more unfortunate, as theſe boats were ſo ſmall, and withal ſo deeply laden, that numbers of them overſet; by means of which ſeveral of the paſſengers were drowned, and a great part of their little cargoes entirely loſt. Upon this, therefore, they bethought themſelves of making rafts with canes; but they made them ſo ill, that moſt of them ſunk with every thing that had been committed to them. Affliting, however, as theſe loſſes were, the faith of the Neophytes triumphed over them.

It does not appear, that any of thoſe, who travelled by land, periſhed in their journey. But when they were all united, ſome in the reduction of the nativity, on the Acaray; and the reſt, in that of St. Mary Major, on the Iguazu; they increaſed the famine, that raged there before their arrival, in conſequence of a bad harveſt; and this famine

ſoon

ſoon brought on a general ſickneſs, which, in both reductions, carried off eleven hundred ſouls, and determined thoſe who ſurvived to diſperſe into the woods, in ſearch of roots and wild fruits, where a great many of them periſhed by want, it not being in the power of their conductors, who themſelves wanted every thing, to give them any other aſſiſtance, than that of preparing them to make a good end.

At length, the mortality ceaſed; and the miſſionaries found, that out of one hundred thouſand ſouls, of which the church of Guayra was compoſed, there now remained with them but twelve thouſand. Father Montoya formed two reductions with theſe melancholy remains, near a little river called *Iubaburrus*, which flows from the eaſt into the Parana, and gave them the names of *Loretto* and *St. Ignatius*. But, as it was impoſſible to till or ſow any lands, on account of the more immediate neceſſity of building houſes for ſhelter, he bought ten thouſand oxen, with the money allowed by way of ſalary to the miſſionaries of Guayra, and the proceeds of ſuch effects ſaved out of the reductions of that province, as the Neophytes could do without.

The Spaniards, who had hitherto conſidered the reductions of this province, as little contributing to the ſecurity of their other ſettlements in the province of Guayra againſt the fury of the Mamelus, now began to ſee their miſtake, when it was too late to repair it. Their own territories were ſoon covered with theſe Banditti, who every where drew after them large armies of infidels; and, when theſe hell hounds could no longer find any new chriſtians to make ſlaves of, they fell upon the country ſeats and villages; and, afterwards, utterly deſtroyed Ciudad and Villarica, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the biſhop of the Aſſumption, who came in perſon to intercede for them. Part of the inha-

inhabitants took refuge on the Paraguay, and the reſt went in ſearch of an aſylum, even among their enemies. We ſhall ſpeak, in another place, of the New Villarica, afterwards built by the inhabitants of the old.

1632. The year following, the Calchaquis, having been defeated by the Spaniards in ſeveral rencounters, prevailed on the jeſuits to obtain a peace for them, though they had obliged themſelves, by the moſt execrable oaths, never to give quarters to any Spaniards, except the fathers of the company, who, they ſaid, had never done them any harm, but had, on the contrary, always zealouſly defended their liberty and the honour of their wives. But this calm was of very ſhort duration. The barbarians ſoon renewed their hoſtilities, burning and plundering all before them; ſo that the viceroy of Peru found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending ſome forces to Tucuman againſt them. But, though theſe troops put a ſtop to their courſes, they made no change in their ſentiments. The jeſuits, on their ſide, could neither aſſure them, that, in caſe they became chriſtians, no attempts would be made on their liberty; nor yet perſuade the Spaniards, that it was their real intereſt to authorize them to give them ſuch aſſurances; an obſtinacy the more ſurprizing, as the Spaniards were very far from being always in a condition to repreſs theſe Indians.

But what ſerved moſt to ſignalize this year, was the ſurprizing converſion of all the inhabitants of the province of Tapé, which we have before taken notice of. Not only they invited the miſſionaries, and gave them the kindeſt reception; but ſeveral, to have a better title to their aſſiſtance, had already formed themſelves into reductions, and built churches and houſes to receive them. Theſe eſtabliſhments, however, were ſoon brought into great dan-

ger, by the attachment which ſome of the converted caciques ſtill retained to their concubines; and, though, in the end, they got the better of this ſhock, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of the difficulties which often perplexed the miſſionaries in caſes of the like nature.

I ALREADY obſerved, that, among the Guarani nations, every cacique had a right to take as many wives as he could maintain. Now, though it was an eaſy matter to perſuade thoſe, who were ſincerely diſpoſed to embrace the chriſtian religion, to confine themſelves to one wife, it was not ſo eaſy to determine, whether they ſhould be obliged to keep her whom they had firſt married, or be permitted to chuſe her they liked beſt among thoſe, with whom they actually cohabited. It is well known, that divines differ in this point; for which reaſon the miſſionaries, for a long time, followed the opinion, that each of them reſpectively thought was beſt grounded. At length, the ſuperiors judging it highly proper to eſtabliſh in theſe churches one uniform rule of conduct in an affair of ſo much importance, applied to the ſovereign Pontiff, to know how they ſhould govern themſelves for the future.

FATHER de Lugo, in the memorial he drew up for this purpoſe, repreſented to his holineſs, that the Guarani caciques conſidered their wives, rather as ſervants, than as companions; that they diſmiſſed them without ceremony, on the leaſt diſlike; that they very often kept ſeveral together; and, ſometimes, even the mothers and the daughters; that it was uſual with them to make preſents of their wives to their friends and vaſſals, and take them back again when they thought proper; in fine, that ſome of them, on leaving one place to ſettle in another, left their wives behind them, to avoid the trouble of removing them, and took new ones in the

the places where they ſtopt. From theſe premiſes father de Lugo concluded, that there was no marriage among theſe Indians; and alledged, beſides, ſeveral reaſons, why it would be dangerous to oblige them, on their converſion, to abide by the women, with whom they had firſt cohabited.

The firſt reaſon was the difficulty of fixing on the woman, with whom they had firſt cohabited, as it was very probable they might not give a true anſwer, when interrogated on this head. The ſecond, that this firſt wife might poſſibly have been the firſt wife of another. The third, that theſe Indians, after having been married in the face of the church, were often known to neglect, for another, the woman they had been obliged to acknowledge as their wife, becauſe they did not love her. The fourth, that the obligation of confining themſelves to the woman, with whom they had firſt cohabited, appeared ſo ſevere, that, on that account alone, ſeveral had refuſed to embrace the chriſtian religion. In fine, that, in the marriages of the Guaranis, there was neither contract nor any other ceremony, by which the wife might be diſtinguiſhed from the concubine. The Pope's anſwer was, that the two opinions, in the caſe propoſed, being equally probable, there was no occaſion for a diſpenſation to follow either; and that the miſſionaries ſhould act, on ſuch occaſions, in the manner they judged propereſt to ſecure the converſion of the infidels; and this rule has been ever ſince obſerved.

In that part of the country, which lies to the eaſt of the Paraguay, and extends from that river to the Parana, where this laſt takes a turn towards the North-eaſt, there is a chain of mountains that pours down a great number of rivers, ſome of which fall into the Paraguay, and the reſt into the Parana. But thoſe which flow eaſtwards have ſo

gentle a fall, that their motion is ſcarce diſcernible; whereas the others, tumbling from a greater height, are not only diſtinguiſhable by the rapidity of their courſe, but by the great quantity of mud which they carry from the marſhes they ruſh through, and with which they render the waters of the Paraguay turbid to a conſiderable diſtance. Beſides, they often overflow their banks; and, then, the whole country reſembles a vaſt ſea, with no other bounds but the mountains. This country is full of trees, diſtilling a gum which the inhabitants form into balls, ſo light and elaſtick, that they ſerve to play with. But what renders them ſtill more valuable, is a virtue they are ſaid to poſſeſs of curing the dyſentery. Several of theſe balls have been brought to Spain.

The heart of this country, which lies between the 19th and 22d degrees of South latitude, is inhabited by a people called *Itatines*. Theſe Indians ſpoke the ſame language with the Guaranis, and ſeemed to be of the ſame origin, though, at the ſame time we are ſpeaking of, they kept up very little communication with them. They were extremely vigorous and nimble; and running was ſo well ſtudied and ſo favourite a diverſion among them, that they obliged the runners to carry ſtones of a fixed weight, and even diſtributed prizes among them. As ſure as any one among them died, a certain number of his relations threw themſelves from a great height in order to accompany him in the other world; and this cuſtom, along with the frequent diſorders cauſed by the bad air in which they lived, hindered them from multiplying.

Such was a nation of Indians, whom father Ranconnier a jeſuit, had lately undertaken to convert, though with very little hopes of ſucceſs. He was even more than once on the point of falling a victim

to

to their prevention and jealouſy, for which, however, it muſt be owned they had but too juſt grounds. A Portugueſe prieſt, it ſeems, had, ſome years before, collected a conſiderable number of them under pretence of civilizing them, and inſtructing them in the chriſtian religion; and, then, ſold them to ſome of his countrymen, who were to carry them off to Brazil; but, unhappily for the wretch, the Itatines diſcovered his views, and murdered him. This alone would have been ſufficient to make them miſtruſt father Ranconnier; but their ſuſpicions were increaſed by another European, who was indiſcreet enough to tell them, that all thoſe who liſtened to this father might ſoon expect to ſee themſelves ſlaves to the Spaniards.

They even began to take up arms, as if the Spaniards were on the point of entering their country, when ſome ſpecial marks of the protection of heaven on father Ranconnier ſuddenly changed their hearts, and brought them in ſuch numbers about him for inſtruction, that he and other jeſuits that came to his aſſiſtance, had proſelytes enough to form four reductions in one year, under the names of *St. Joſeph*, the *Angels*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*. The eſtabliſhing of the company at Xerez would, no doubt, have tended greatly to the further progreſs of their miſſion; but, though the inhabitants had been a long time ſoliciting for it, the affair lingered ſo long, that all thoughts of it were at laſt laid aſide. Certain it is, that the Spaniards did never ſufficiently comprehend, how much it was their intereſt to keep and fortify this place, which might have ſecured to them the poſſeſſion of all the courſe of the Paraguay, as far as the lake of the Xarayes; and that they have not been ſufficiently upon their guard againſt the Mamelus, who have opened a road, on that ſide of South America, to their countrymen, for making

diſcoveries, in which the Spaniards ſhould have been before hand with them.

Of this there happened a melancholy proof at the time we are ſpeaking of; a large gang of Mamelus, with an army of Tapés at their heels, having made a ſudden irruption into the country. The firſt thing theſe banditti did, was to ſend two envoys to the reduction of St. Joſeph, whoſe paſtor they knew was abſent, with a meſſage to the corregidor, importing that he had nothing to fear, as they were marching againſt ſome nations in the neighbourhood, firmly reſolved to chaſtiſe them for their inſolent behaviour to father Ranconnier; and that, if he would join them in ſo glorious a cauſe, he ſhould ſoon be convinced of their zeal for the welfare both of the miſſionaries and their Neophytes. The corregidor gave into the ſnare. He ordered all his warriors to take up arms, and marched with them to the camp of the Mamelus, where they were no ſooner arrived, than theſe miſcreants loaded them with chains.

The general then ſent out a detachment to carry off all thoſe, who ſtill remained in the reduction; and another, to attack that of the Angels; but the paſtor of the laſt had time enough to ſecure the retreat of part of its inhabitants. The reſt were taken, with the miſſionary, whom the Mamelus detained for three days together, leſt he ſhould aſſiſt any of his Neophytes to make their eſcape. A third body of theſe banditti fell upon the reduction of St. Peter; and partly by force, and partly by fraud, found means of getting all the inhabitants into their power, except ſeventy, who, having aſſembled about their paſtor, bravely repulſed an equal number of Tapés, and thirty Mamelus. The paſtor of St. Joſeph had likewiſe the good fortune of obtaining, by his entreaties, the liberty of two caciques; upon which ſeveral

of

of the Tapes, charmed with his zeal for the welfare of his Neophytes, thought proper to put themſelves under his conduct. But he ſoon after had the mortification of hearing, that all the reſt of the caciques and other Itatine officers, having been tied to one chain, had the misfortune of being drowned in croſſing the Parana. Soon after, the jeſuits were informed, that the Mamelus, to render them odious to the Itatines, had renewed the calumny which they had formerly propagated with ſuch ſucceſs; namely, that the jeſuits themſelves had invited them; and it wrought ſo much upon the poor people, that ſeveral of them, through mere reſentment, profaned the ſacred veſſels, and even formed a deſign againſt the life of one of their paſtors. But means were at laſt found to diſabuſe them, and even reſtore the reductions, by degrees, to their former populouſneſs.

1633. THOSE on the Parana, which had for a long time enjoyed the ſweets of an uninterrupted peace, were now tried in their turn; and the firſt trial they were put to, was of a very extraordinary kind, being the work of thoſe who ſhould have been their protectors; namely, the governor and the biſhop of the province of Paraguay. The prelate had viſited them a few years before, and beſtowed the higheſt praiſes both on the Neophytes and their miſſionaries. As to the governor, his conduct, ever ſince his promotion to that employment, had been ſuch, as left theſe new chriſtian colonies no reaſon to expect any favour from him. It ſeemed even ſurprizing, that he had not carried his malice againſt them to ſtill greater lengths.

THIS nobleman, it ſeems, had given orders to a Cacique but lately converted, to ſupply him with a certain number of Pirogues; but, though he had been obeyed with the greateſt punctuality, yet,

as theſe boats happened to be too ſmall for his uſe, he fell into ſo a violent paſſion with the Cacique, and the Indians, who came along with him to deliver them, that he immediately ſent the poor people to priſon. He even forgot himſelf ſo far, as to threaten, with perſonal ſervice, all the chriſtians of the reductions on the Parana. Theſe acts of violence and raſh threats made ſo great an impreſſion on the Neophytes, that the miſſionaries had much ado to contain them. But it proved ſtill more difficult to pacify them, in regard to a ſtep of the biſhop, which he could not have taken in a more critical conjuncture.

This prelate had, all on a ſudden, taken it into his head, or at leaſt, had been made to believe, that he might conſiderably increaſe the revenues of his church, by placing over the reductions of his dioceſe, paſtors more dependent on him than the Jeſuits; and, under pretence that the new chriſtians under the conduct of theſe religious, paid him neither tithes, nor the fourth part of the fruits of the earth, he began by interdicting all their miſſionaries. So great and ſudden a clap ſurprized every one; and it was the general opinion, that the biſhop had not proceeded ſo far without a fixed deſign of going ſtill farther.

The governor, on his ſide, abated nothing of his menaces; and people waited with the greateſt impatience the upſhot of this affair, when father Romero arrived poſt haſte at the Aſſumption, from the farther extremity of the province of Uruguay, where the noiſe of this ſudden ſtorm had reached him. The firſt thing he did was to wait on the governor, whom he beſeeched to conſider, that the kings of Spain had abſolutely forbid their ſubjects to treat the Indians in a rough manner, thoſe eſpecially, who had been converted and formed into reductions by the Jeſuits; or even impoſe any

taſks

taſks upon them; their majeſties being deſirous, that they ſhould be prevailed upon by fair means, to do every thing, it might be thought proper to require of them; but his remonſtrances had no effect. However, he again returned to the charge; and by his conſtancy, and his eloquence equally ſtrong and inſinuating, obtained, at laſt every thing he wanted. The governor ordered the priſoners to be ſet at liberty, and promiſed never more to moleſt the Neophytes.

But it proved much more difficult to move the biſhop. It was to no purpoſe, father Romero, after ſtriving in vain to reaſon him into better ſentiments, produced the bulls of the ſovereign Pontifs, and the decrees of the royal council of the Indies, by which it plainly appeared, that his lordſhip had tranſgreſſed the bounds of his authority in interdicting the miſſionaries. He could get no other anſwer from him, than that he had a right to diſpoſe of the pariſhes within his dioceſe. To this father Romero replied, that the reductions directed by the jeſuits were not to be conſidered as pariſhes in the ſtrict ſenſe of that word. The biſhop perſiſted in alledging, that thoſe, who had charge of them, were pariſh prieſts ſubject to the ordinary, like all other pariſh prieſts. At length, the provincial, who was by this time arrived at the Aſſumption, cauſed to be notified to the biſhop the letters patent of the king, by which his majeſty forbade all perſons of whatever rank and dignity, to deprive the fathers of the company of Jeſus of the government of their Neophytes, or diſturb them, under any pretext, in the exerciſe of their functions.

The governor, who had already yielded to reaſon, ſeconded the provincial; and the biſhop ſoon followed his example. He even did it with ſo good a grace, that, father Romero having ſet out to return to his church, he immediately followed him;

viſited a ſecond time the reductions within his dioceſe; loaded the Neophytes with praiſes and careſſes; and, above all things, recommended to them, an entire confidence in thoſe, who governed them with ſo much zeal and wiſdom. This prelate was in the year 1635 tranſlated to the biſhoprick of Buenos Ayres, and ever after lived in the greateſt harmony with the jeſuits, which has not, however, hindered the authors of the *Morale pratique* from placing him, on the authority of Don Bernadin de Cardenas, among thoſe prelates, whom the jeſuits, according to him, had driven out of their dioceſes. But theſe gentlemen, it ſeems, did not conſider, that, if theſe fathers had credit enough for that purpoſe, they could not but have enough to prevent his tranſlation to the biſhoprick of Buenos Ayres, where it imported them much more to have a biſhop in their intereſt, than at the Aſſumption.

But this ſtorm had ſcarce blown over, when a report of the Mamelus having reſolved to penetrate as far as the Parana, threw all the reductions eſtabliſhed on that river, into the greateſt conſternation. Nor was it a vain alarm; for the report was ſoon followed by certain advice, of their advancing by forced marches, after paſſing the great fall. As, therefore, it could not be doubted, that theſe banditti would firſt attack the reductions of the nativity and St. Mary Major, it was reſolved to remove the inhabitants to Itapua. Theſe precautions ſo diſconcerted all the ſchemes of the enemy, that they thought it more prudent to march back, than venture further into a country, with which they were not ſufficiently acquainted.

This year, the viceroy of Peru received poſitive orders from court, to ſuppreſs, abſolutely and irrevocably, the practices of exacting perſonal ſervice from the Indians, and ſubſtitute to it a tax payable

able to their encomenderoes, in money, vegetables, ſtuffs, honey, poultry, or fiſh, according to the nature of the countries they inhabited. It is very probable, that it was found improper to uſe violence in the execution of theſe orders; and that, therefore, gentle means were only employed. Be that as it will, certain it is, that things have remained ever ſince on much the ſame footing they were before; and that the moſt melancholy experience has not as yet been able to convince the Spaniards of Paraguay, that, independent of the dictates of religion and common honeſty, their intereſt alone ſhould engage them to comply with the will of their ſovereign.

1635. It could ſcarce be expected, that the Mamelus and the Tupis, who did not think it too far to march to the reductions on the Parana, in order to make ſlaves of the new chriſtians there, ſhould not hanker after thoſe of the Tapé, which lay ſo much nearer and more convenient to them; as, in their journeys along the eaſtern coaſts of Brazil for the ſake of ſelling their ſlaves, they generally ſtopt at the *Port de ſan Pedro*, formed by the mouth of the great river *Tebiquari*, which iſſues from the mountains of Tapé. Accordingly, the miſſionaries of this province had begun ſeriouſly to think on the propereſt meaſures for putting it in a good poſture of defence againſt them. But ſuch is the indolence of its natives, that theſe fathers might have laboured long enough to very little purpoſe, had not the misfortune, which ſome of their Neophytes had to fall into the hands of theſe banditti, made ſuch an impreſſion on the reſt, that they immediately purſued them; and not only reſcued their countrymen, but made ſeveral priſoners, who were diſtributed among the reduc-

ductions of the Parana, where, in time, they came to a due ſenſe of their extreme folly and wickedneſs.

The ardour inſpired by this ſucceſs was ſtill alive, when the Neophytes had a new opportunity of exerting it. One of the miſſionaries, who had moſt contributed to civilize and convert them, having been treacherouſly killed by ſome of the neighbouring Indians, two bodies of them entered the enemy's country, in ſpite of all the endeavours of their paſtors to reſtrain their fury, on two different ſides; and, though both found armies prepared to receive them, they fought with ſuch bravery, that, without loſing a ſingle man, they killed a great number of theſe ſavages, made a great many priſoners, and entirely diſperſed the reſt. They would even have carried their reſentment ſtill further, had not the miſſionaries found means to put a ſtop to it. But, as they neglected to take any ſecurity for the better behaviour of the enemy for the time to come, this mercy of theirs had like to have proved very fatal to them. The wild Indians, being left entirely to themſelves, acquired, by degrees, more ſtrength than they had loſt; fell upon the reduction lately governed by the murdered miſſionary; butchered all the inhabitants that had not the good fortune of ſaving themſelves by flight, and even three hundred children, whom they afterwards devoured. The other reductions of Tapé were on the point of ſharing the ſame fate; ſo that it was at laſt found neceſſary, in order to ſupport ſome, and repair the reſt, to take up arms a ſecond time, and make new efforts, the ſucceſs of which was now become very uncertain. But the God of armies ſoon declared in favour of his worſhippers, who had engaged in this war, merely to prevent the profanation of his ſanctuary, and preſerve his adorers. Beſides, theſe new maccabees ſought leſs to ſpill the blood of their enemies, than to impoſe

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a yoke on them, which they took care to render very ſupportable, and eaſed them of the minute they found them ſincerely diſpoſed to bow their necks to that of the goſpel.

1636. The year following, Don Martin de Ledeſma, who had ſucceeded Don Lewis de Ceſpedez in the government of Paraguay, having received orders from the royal audience of la Plata, to viſit the reductions on the Parana, had no ſooner finiſhed his viſit, than, at the inſtigation of the inhabitants of the Aſſumption, he formed the deſign of transfering, to the neighbourhood of that capital, two of them, that had been already removed into his province from that of Guayra, in order to give the Neophytes of them in command. His pretence for taking this ſtep was, that theſe Indians had been reduced by arms, before the jeſuits had undertaken to reunite them; and that, therefore, the Spaniards had a juſt title to their ſervices; and he perſiſted ſo obſtinately in this, his falſe notion, that nothing leſs than a poſitive order from the royal audience could hinder him from proceeding. Another pretenſion of the governor of Buenos Ayres, equally ill grounded, met with the ſame check. In conſequence of ſome diſagreement between him and the jeſuits, he wrote to his majeſty for leave to build a city on the Uruguay, on pretence of thereby keeping in awe the new chriſtians of this province, every day, he ſaid, growing more and more numerous. But this appeared a very odd motive to Philip IV. thoroughly convinced, as he was, that theſe Neophytes, far from deſerving to be treated with ſo much diffidence, formed the beſt barrier he could have againſt all his enemies on that ſide of the country; his majeſty, accordingly, ſent orders to the governor to lay aſide his deſign.

A THIRD ſtorm, which aroſe at the ſame time, inſtead of only threatening from afar, was attended with very fatal conſequences. The inhabitants of the Aſſumption affirmed, that, as the Itatine chriſtians were not included in the privileges granted to the Neophytes of the jeſuits, there could be no reaſon for not giving them in command. But they did not, or at leaſt would not, conſider, that, as they had not conquered theſe Indians, they could have no juſt pretence to deprive them of their liberty; but thoſe, whoſe intereſt it was to maintain this vexatious pretenſion, had found means to biaſs ſo far both the civil and eccleſiaſtical courts, that they ordered the paſtors ſtationed in theſe reductions, to give up their places to ſecular prieſts. In the mean time, fearing that the jeſuits might complain of this violence to the royal audience of La Plata, ſome of the principal inhabitants ſigned a memorial addreſſed to that tribunal, in which they advanced ſeveral facts invented to render theſe fathers odious, and him in particular, who tranſacted their affairs at la Plata.

BUT this very contrivance ruined all their projects. One of thoſe, who had ſigned the memorial, ſcrupled it to ſuch a degree, that, to calm his conſcience, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending a judicial retractation of his falſe allegations; and this retractation diſcovered the myſtery of iniquity, which the conſpirators had been endeavouring to cover with the ſpecious veil of the public good. But, though the royal audience loſt no time in iſſuing a decree, forbidding any innovations to be made in the Itatine reductions, it arrived too late. The new chriſtians compoſing them, having already received ſome intimation of the deſign of the Spaniards, were ſo terrified at the thoughts of being reduced to the drudgery of perſonal ſervice, that great numbers of them took refuge among the wild

wild Indians. To increaſe this misfortune, a plague followed; and moſt of thoſe who eſcaped it diſperſed; and of the three paſtors, who governed this church, two fell into a conſumption, and were obliged to quit the field; ſo that the third not being able to attend to every thing, it coſt more to reunite this ſcared and exaſperated flock, than had been at firſt requiſite to form it.

The plague likewiſe, ſucceeded by a famine, had laid waſte the reductions of Tapé, when the ſurviving Neophytes received intelligence, that the Mamelus were making a powerful armament to pay them a ſecond viſit. As the reduction of Jeſus Maria lay the moſt expoſed to their fury, father Romero applied to the governor of Rio de la Plata for leave to throw up ſome retrenchments about it; and, having obtained his conſent, immediately repaired there to haſten the works. But the Mamelus appeared before they could be compleated, followed by fifteen hundred Tupis and ſeveral other Indians. Such of the Neophytes as were not actually employed in the military works, were abroad hunting, or cultivating their lands, all to four hundred, who remained in the town; and ſeveral of theſe were not in a condition to make any great reſiſtance.

What reſiſtance they made, however, was much more vigorous than could be well expected. But no one behaved better on the occaſion, than a woman who had put on man's clothes for the purpoſe. Having ſpied a Mamelus, who alone made a greater ſlaughter than all the reſt put together, ſhe immediately made up to him, and laid him dead at her feet. Two lay brother jeſuits ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion, and were dangerouſly wounded; as was father Mola, in performing the perilous functions of his miniſtry. At length, the Mamelus having ſet fire to the church, where all thoſe who could not fight

fight had ſhut themſelves up, there was a neceſſity for capitulating. The conditions were pretty favourable, but they were ſoon broke. Part of thoſe who had fought, were butchered in cold blood, and the reſt thrown into chains. Theſe banditti afterwards ſet fire to the houſes; and, carrying off even ſeveral of thoſe whom their paſtors had ranſomed, ſpread themſelves over the country and made a great many priſoners there; ſo that ſcarce one fourth of the inhabitants eſcaped their fury. We are told, that moſt of the captives, even the children, did great honour to the chriſtian faith during their captivity, though ſome apoſtaſied; and became, in proceſs of time, as it uſually happens, the moſt dangerous enemies to the religion they had forſaken.

Upon this, the reduction of St. Chriſtopher, but two leagues from that of Jeſus-Maria, was immediately evacuated, and the inhabitants conducted to St. Anne, where the remains of Jeſus Maria had been already transferred. But though the paſtor of Jeſus-Maria had by this aſſembled a body of ſixteen hundred men, it was judged proper to remove ſtill further, to the Nativity, at the other ſide of the Iguai, not only thoſe, who had taken ſhelter at St. Anne, but likewiſe the inhabitants themſelves. This tranſmigration, however, was performed with great order. Detachments were poſted at all the fords of the river, except one, which was left naked in order to draw the Mamelus into an ambuſcade in the woods, with which its banks are covered. The neceſſity of theſe precautions ſoon became evident. It was not long before a large body of Mamelus croſſed the river by the ford which had been left uncovered. But they ſoon fell into the ambuſcade which had been laid for them, and were all cut to pieces.

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But theſe prudent meaſures did not hinder the alarm from encreaſing. It was even ſtrongly reported, that the enemy were marching towards the Uruguay; and that ſome of their detachments had already murdered ſeveral jeſuits. Upon this, therefore, orders were given to ſet fire to the reductions of that province, and they had already begun to be executed, when the provincial of the jeſuits, having fortunately heard of them, gave directions to proceed no further, till he could examine matters on the ſpot; and he immediately ſet out for that purpoſe. He met, in his way, the inhabitants of the reductions, that had been already evacuated, and, having diſtributed them among the neareſt towns, poſted to the Aſſumption to require aſſiſtance of the governor of Paraguay.

He repreſented to the governor, that, if he once ſuffered all the chriſtian colonies to be deſtroyed, it would no longer be poſſible to ſecure a great number of Spaniſh ſettlements from the Mamelus. To this Don Martin de Ledeſma made no other anſwer, than that he would have done much better to ſtrengthen the old reductions than form new ones. Father Boroa replied, that, by abandoning the province of Tapé, and all the courſe of the Uruguay, the province of Parana, and even that of Paraguay, would have been laid open to the enemy, who could then with impunity ravage all the country to the very gates of the Aſſumption, like the Chiriguanes, the Calchaquis, and ſeveral other barbarous nations of Tucuman. As Don Martin had formerly been governor of Tucuman, he muſt have ſeen the force of this argument much better than any one elſe; notwithſtanding which, he thought proper not to yield to it.

The ſon of the governor of Rio de la Plata, who had the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres, and even of the capital itſelf, ſhould have taken

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more intereſt in the preſervation of the churches on the Uruguay; and yet he proved equally deaf to the provincial's entreaties. This father then addreſſed himſelf to the inhabitants of Corrientes; but all to no purpoſe. However, he ſtill reſolved not to abandon the reductions that were moſt expoſed to danger; and, therefore, aſſembled all the Neophytes that had not as yet any fixed habitations; ſent to the neareſt reductions for good eſcorts; croſſed the Iguai, where he ſtill encreaſed his numbers; and, having thus formed a pretty numerous army, advanced to the demoliſhed reductions, thinking he might ſtill find the enemy there, and reſcue thoſe they had made priſoners. But the Mamelus, having received early notice of his deſign, had taken care to defeat it by a timely retreat.

The provincial, therefore, could now do no more than bury the dead bodies, which ſtill lay expoſed to the beaſts and birds of prey, in every place where any reſiſtance had been made. Afterwards, finding that nothing was to be expected from the Spaniards, unleſs the royal council of the Indies interpoſed, he wrote to that tribunal to inform it of every thing that had happened, and of the melancholy ſituation of the new chriſtians of Paraguay. He ſent his letters by a ſhip bound to Portugal; and he thought he had given them into very ſure hands; but they were thrown into the ſea, two hundred leagues from Liſbon. Thoſe, however, who had given orders for ſo doing, reaped no benefit by it; for the packet was found, ſome time after, in that port, and carried to his catholic majeſty.

1737. The year following, the jeſuits of Paraguay deputed father Diaz Tano to Rome, and father de Montayo to Madrid. Their buſineſs was to ſolicit the royal council of the Indies for powerful aſſiſtance againſt the Mamelus; and acquaint it with the obſtacles that hin-

hindered the progreſs of the goſpel in Paraguay; that of the former was to give the general of the company an account of their affairs in that province, and obtain of him a reinforcement of miſſionaries. The biſhop of Tucuman made uſe of the ſame opportunity to write to his catholic majeſty the following letter.

SIRE,

"YOUR majeſty has often given orders to my predeceſſors to let you know how far the dioceſe of Tucuman may ſtand in need of religious to preach the goſpel to the natives, that the royal council of the Indies may be the better able to ſupply its wants. As, therefore, within theſe three years that I have had the ſpiritual government of it, I have carefully viſited almoſt every part of it, I ſhall lay before your majeſty an account of its preſent ſtate.

THIS province, Sire, is more than four hundred leagues in extent; contains eight Spaniſh, and a great number of Indian towns, of which the moſt inconſiderable contains from twelve to fourteen thouſand ſouls. All the inhabitants have been baptized, but moſt of them have renounced or forgot the faith, through natural levity or want of inſtruction. Of theſe the jeſuits had converted upwards of fifty thouſand, but were obliged to abandon them on account of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, who in a hoſtile manner entered the province of Chaco, whoſe inhabitants are, in general, very docile, live together in towns, and do not go naked like other Indians. There are eight of theſe towns, whoſe inhabitants are chriſtians; but they have no paſtor; and it is not in my power to give them any, ſince, even in the ſpaniſh towns, there is ſcarce a prieſt capable of performing the parochial functions. When I can, I ſend ſome eccleſiaſticks there twice a year

to viſit them; for it is not always I can do that. Thus have I the mortification of ſeeing periſh, for want of aſſiſtance, a great many ſouls, redeemed by the blood of Jeſus Chriſt, committed to my care, and under the protection of your majeſty.

In the Indian towns governed by ſecular prieſts, there are many things that want to be reformed. Theſe prieſts know nothing; and are neither capable of fulfilling their own obligations, nor of inſtructing in theirs thoſe committed to their care. The regulars are very few; and the religious of St. Francis, in particular, are ſcarce ſufficient to ſerve their churches. There are, therefore, none but the fathers of the company that can exonerate your majeſty's conſcience. In all their houſes, there are labourers ready, both night and day, to do every thing required of them. They inſtruct the children, viſit the ſick, aſſiſt the dying, and are particularly careful of the Indians and Negroes. For this reaſon I have entreated their provincial, lately arrived with ſome other jeſuits, to hold an aſſembly of his order, in the city of Corduba, where I am now on a viſitation, to ſend ſome evangelical labourers to Chaco, that the inhabitants, who have already ſome pretty good notions of the chriſtian religion, may by gentle means be reduced to the obedience of Jeſus Chriſt. I have, at the ſame time, conjured him to ſpare ſome preachers to the moſt unprovided quarters of my dioceſe, in order to endeavour the reformation of the Spaniards, the Portugueſe and the Metis, whoſe diſſolute lives greatly ſcandalize the Indians; and to adminiſter the ſacraments, which are now ſcarce known among them.

To this he anſwered, that his religious could not comply with my requeſt, without expoſing themſelves to the ſame perſecution, they have ſuffered for ſome years paſt, in the province of Paraguay,

guay, from the Spaniards, the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue, and the Tupis. In fact, the Spaniards are greatly prejuced againſt them, becauſe, as far as lies in their power, they maintain the Indians in the poſſeſſion of that liberty which your majeſty has been pleaſed to grant them. However, as ſoon as he ſaw I ſpoke to him in your majeſty's name, and that what I required ſo nearly regarded God's ſervice, he ſent orders, in conformity, to all the fathers of his province; and I am ſatisfied they will leave all their houſes empty, rather than not comply with them. But, unhappily, their numbers are very ſmall.

I, THEREFORE, conjure your majeſty by the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, and by the ineſtimable value of ſo many ſouls, whoſe ſalvation this divine Saviour has charged me to procure, and for whom he died on the croſs, to ſend me forty fathers of the company, with ſtrict orders not to ſtop to exerciſe their zeal any where but in the dioceſe of Tucuman; for, I do not believe there is, in all the world, one more deſtitute of ſpiritual aſſiſtance. I may even ſafely aſſure your majeſty, that, if my whole revenue, which does not exceed four thouſand crowns, was not already irrevocably appropriated, I would ſend for theſe religious at my own expence. But I flatter myſelf I have diſcharged my duty by laying before your majeſty, the ſovereign of theſe provinces, and the patron of their churches, the melancholy ſituation of mine in particular, and the remedies that may be applied to it. God keep and preſerve your royal perſon for the defence of religion. At Corduba of Tucuman, the eighteenth day of October, 1637."

THE letter of Don Pedro Eſtevan d'Avila, which he gave with his own hands to the deputies, when going to embark at Buenos Ayres, contains the following particulars, "I had been in-

formed of the diſorders committed by the inhabitants of St. Paul of Brazil, in the reductions or miſſions, which the fathers of the company of Jeſus have eſtabliſhed, within this juriſdiction, on the Uruguay, and in Tapè; and, at my arrival at Rio Janeyro, I found that I had heard nothing but what was exactly true; for I ſaw expoſed to ſale, in that port, ſome Indians, whom the inhabitantsof St. Paul brought there as publickly as if they had been made ſlaves with your majeſty's conſent. I afterwards received the moſt convincing proofs, that, from the year 1628 to 1630, the ſame inhabitants of St. Paul had carried off ſixty thouſand ſouls from the reductions of this province and thoſe of Paraguay, where they exerciſed the greateſt cruelties, behaving in a manner that one would ſcarce think poſſible for men, who called themſelves chriſtians and catholicks.

Being deſirous of putting a ſtop to theſe enormities, I wrote to Don Martin de Sa, at that time governor of this province, to induce him to do, what I now beſeech your majeſty to direct. I likewiſe ſend your majeſty his anſwer to my letter. I hope from your majeſty's piety and juſtice, that you will put a ſtop to this ſcandal, by giving the moſt expreſs orders to hinder the inhabitants of St. Paul from entering theſe provinces, through which they would ſoon find out a paſſage to Peru, as father Anthony Ruiz, of the company of Jeſus, now on his departure for Spain on affairs of the laſt importance to church and ſtate, can more amply inform your majeſty."

End of the Sixth Book.

BOOK

BOOK VII.

The new chriſtians of the reductions in the neighbourhood of the Uruguay, after making head, with various ſucceſs, againſt the Mamelus, are removed by their paſtors to the neighbourhood of the Parana; are allowed the uſe of fire arms; entirely defeat, under the command of the governor of Paraguay, a large body of the Mamelus. Lake with floating Iſlands. Renegadoes and outlaws, who had taken ſhelter in them, defeated by the new chriſtians. The Pope excommunicates the Mamelus and their abettors. Ferment occaſioned thereby in Brazil. Duke of Braganca aſcends the throne of Portugal. New regulations of the court of Madrid in favour of the Indians of Paraguay, particularly the chriſtian Indians carried off by the Mamelus. Attempt to civilize and convert two Indian nations called Matarane*s and* Abipones. *Their manners and cuſtoms. Progreſs of the goſpel in Paraguay checked by an edict of the court of Madrid, forbidding any but the natural born ſubjects of Spain to paſs over as miſſionaries into Paraguay. Engagements by water and land between the Mamelus and the new chriſtians, in which the former are entirely defeated. Don Bernardin de Cardenas named biſhop of the Aſſumption; abuſes his ſpiritual power, and encroaches on the civil, to the ſubverſion of all order in church and ſtate; begins to inveigh againſt the jeſuits. Leaves the Aſſumption, but returns again, in order to drive*

the jeſuits out of it; being diſappointed in the attempt entrenches himſelf in the franciſcan convent; is declared by his clergy an intruder into the dioceſe; and leaves the capital; adjudged, on his own confeſſion, an intruder by the ſee of Rome.

THE evil complained of in the letter from the biſhop of Tucuman, with which we have finiſhed our laſt book, was ſtill more preſſing than his lordſhip imagined it. But, however impatient the two deputies were to get to Europe, they were delayed more than ſix months at Rio Janeiro, probably for want of a ſhip to purſue their voyage. They exerted themſelves, in the mean time, to convince the Portugueze, how unworthy of men of honour the ſlave trade was, which they carried on with the Mamelus; and conjured them to reflect ſeriouſly on the rigorous account, to which they muſt ſooner or later be called for it by God, and his catholic majeſty their ſovereign. Father de Montoya even ſpoke more than once from the pulpit to the ſame purpoſe, and his remonſtrances were not altogether fruitleſs. Several perſons ſet at liberty the reduction Indians they had bought from the Mamelus; and the magiſtrates ſtrictly forbid them to buy any for the future.

WE ſhall now leave the two deputies for a time to continue their voyage; and return to the reductions, which were likely to be no ſmall loſers by the abſence of Father de Montoya, who had governed them for ſome time paſt; it being no eaſy matter to find a perſon equally qualified for ſo arduous a taſk, eſpecially in the preſent perilous circumſtances. However, the choice, which the provincial made of father Diego Alfero to ſucceed him met with univerſal ap-

applauſe. This miſſionary was equally conſpicuous for his reſolution and good ſenſe; and ſtill of an age equal to the greateſt fatigues. Nor was it long before he had opportunities of juſtifying the favourable opinion the world entertained of him; the Mamelus being by this more enraged than ever againſt the new chriſtians of Tapé, where there now remained but the reductions of St. Joachim, St. Thereſa, and St. Anne. For, there appearing no probability of being able to ſupport the firſt of theſe reductions againſt an enemy, whoſe fury only encreaſed in proportion to the reſiſtance and even the ſucceſſes of the new chriſtians againſt them, it was reſolved to remove it nearer to the Uruguay.

But the miſſionaries found it a much harder matter, than they at firſt thought it would be, to make the Neophytes conſent to this tranſmigration. They repreſented, that the country, to which theſe fathers propoſed to conduct them, was little leſs expoſed to the inſults of the enemy than their own; and no arguments were found ſufficient to convince them of their miſtake. They even carried their diſcontent to ſome diſagreeable lengths. Several fled; and ſome forgot themſelves ſo far as to conſpire againſt the lives of their paſtors. The greateſt number ſo obſtinately perſiſted in their unwillingneſs to remove, that, to oblige them to it, it was at laſt found abſolutely neceſſary to ſet fire to the town. But, even then, numbers of them diſperſed ſeveral ways. One of the miſſionaries was obliged to follow a great number towards the *Caapis* or *Caapaguas*, whilſt two others conducted the reſt to St. Thereſa.

The miſſionaries did not intend to leave their Neophytes at St. Thereſa; they had even traced out, pretty near that reduction, the plan of another for theſe poor fugitives, of whom they had, by this,

collected ſix hundred families. But a new alarm made it prudent to conduct them ſtill further. Some time after, St. Thereſa was ſurprized, and all its inhabitants carried off. Their paſtors offered to ranſom them, but the Mamelus aſked a great deal more, than it was in their power to give. This happened a few days before Chriſtmas; yet, on Chriſtmas day, theſe banditti came to the church, every man with a taper in his hand, in order to hear the three maſſes of one of the fathers, who, the minute he had finiſhed them, got into the pulpit, and reproached them, in the bittereſt terms, with their injuſtice and cruelty. But they could not have liſtened to him with more calmneſs, if what he ſaid did not any way concern them. When he had done, however, they granted him the liberty of two children, who ſerved at the altar. At length, the two fathers, finding it impoſſible to obtain any more priſoners from them, buried all the ſacred veſſels and altar ornaments they could not take away with them, and ſet out for the Uruguay.

On their way, they met with ſeveral Neophytes wandering in the foreſts; and one of them conducted theſe poor ſcattered remains to the reductions on the Parana, where they were received with open arms. Some time after, the inhabitants of St. Anne, having received timely notice of the approach of the Mamelus, diſperſed to avoid falling into their hands; and moſt of them being but proſelyes, they ſoon took a new liking to the vagabond way of life, in which they had been brought up. Several even ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded, that the miſſionaries had aſſembled them merely to deliver them up to the Mamelus, who, themſelves, every where propagated this calumny; and, in a ſhort time, all the new chriſtians gave ſuch credit to it, that the paſtors were in conſtant

ſtant danger of being murdered by them. They inſulted father Alfero ſeveral times; and one day carried off his chapel, and profaned the ſacred veſſels in his preſence. In ſhort, they ſuddenly deſerted ſo many reductions, that it was thought requiſite to remove the inhabitants of the reſt towards the Parana, where the ſtorm, however, ſoon followed them. The alarm even gained the Itatines, now united into reductions, though in a place where there was no probability that the Mamelus would ever come to attack them.

1738-39. THE Mamelus ſoon after fell upon the province of Uruguay; and, ſo early as the month of January 1638, the reductions of St. Charles and the Apoſtles had been abandoned by their inhabitants, though well able to defend themſelves, as were, likewiſe, thoſe of ſome other reductions in the neighbourhood, had they but joined for that purpoſe. But ſuch a conſternation had ſeized them, that they no longer liſtened to the voice of their paſtors. There happened, however, one pretty ſmart ſkirmiſh, in which thirteen hundred chriſtians, who ventured to make head againſt the Mamelus, had at firſt ſome advantage; but, a ſudden panick having ſeized them, they retreated to their reduction and ſet fire to it, though the enemy had not purſued them. Some days after, however, on receiving a reinforcement, they marched back to the place where they had left the Mamelus, who after retreating at the ſame time that the Indians had fled, were likewiſe returned to it. Upon this, a new battle enſued, and the chriſtians obtained a compleat victory; but, unhappily, they knew not how to improve it. They even permitted themſelves to be ſo far thrown off their guard by this little ſucceſs, that they fell into an ambuſcade, where, however very few of them periſhed. They might have eaſily cut to pieces thoſe who had drawn

drawn them into it, had it been in the power of their leaders to bring them back to the charge. But, ſo far from being even able to rally them, they could not ſtop them till they had reached the banks of the Piratiny.

Some time after this, on a report that the Mamelus were marching back to Brazil, ſeveral Neophytes returned to their reductions; but the Mamelus appeared again, before they were well ſettled in them. However, they waited for theſe banditti with great bravery; and, after a pretty ſmart ſkirmiſh, both parties ſeparated without any loſs on either ſide. The Mamelus now finding, that open force was no longer likely to ſucceed with them, had recourſe to ſtratagem; but they got nothing by it. Soon after, both parties came to blows again; but the Neophytes, betrayed by one of their leaders, were obliged to take to their heels; and never looked behind them, till they got to the other ſide of the Uruguay. This defeat was followed by the ruin of the reduction of St. Nicholas, and the evacuation of all the country between the Uruguay and the Piratiny.

The miſſionaries made ſuch good uſe of this event, to convince all the new chriſtians that ſtill remained in that province, and thoſe in the neighbourhood of the Parana, how neceſſary it was to exert themſelves to prevent their total ruin, that they found it no difficult matter to raiſe an army, which, from the banks of the Uruguay, where it had been formed, advanced to the Piratiny. Father Alfaro, who accompanied it, having here received advice, that the Mamelus were in full march towards Brazil, the Indian army immediately ſet out again in purſuit of them; and, having at laſt overtaken them, ſkirmiſhed with them ſeveral days together, before either ſide could boaſt of any deciſive advantage over the other. At laſt, fifteen hun-

dred men, with which one of the miſſionaries had reinforced the chriſtians, gave them ſuch a ſuperiority, that the Mamelus were obliged to intrench themſelves, to avoid being all cut to pieces. The Neophytes, upon this, unable to force the intrenchment, blocked them up, and by that means reduced the enemy to ſuch extremities, that they had no other choice left but to ſurrender at diſcretion, or make a deſperate puſh to open themſelves a way through the beſiegers.

THE new chriſtians, perhaps, would have yielded to ſo ſudden and unexpected an attack, were it not for the timely arrival of another reinforcement, though it conſiſted of no more than eleven Spaniards, whom the governor of Rio de la Plata had ſent to examine into the ſtate of affairs in this province, and who, after a march of two hundred leagues, found themſelves, as it were, by mere accident, within ſight of the intrenchment, juſt as the Neophytes began to loſe ground and diſperſe. But, as ſoon as they ſpied the Spaniards, they took heart again; and ſuffered themſelves to be rallied by their commander, and led back to the charge The Mamelus, upon this, imagining the reinforcement ſtronger than it really was, called out for quarters, and accepted it on whatever terms the chriſtians were pleaſed to require. Father Alfaro advanced to ſpeak to them; and began by declaring them excommunicated, according to the orders he had received for that purpoſe from the biſhop of Buenos Ayres. He then required of them an oath, that for the future they would never commit any hoſtility againſt the chriſtian reductions; and they immediately complied. The miſſionary, however, fully convinced, that the anathemas of the church and their own imprecations were too weak a reſtraint upon ſuch abandoned wretches, was for taking more effectual precautions againſt them;

and

and did all that lay in his power to make the officer, who commanded the Spaniards, ſenſible of the neceſſity there was for doing ſo; but it was to no purpoſe; he was not to be perſuaded; ſo that the Mamelus were permitted to eſcape, without giving any further ſecurity for their good behaviour.

The conſequences of this imprudent ſtep were much worſe, perhaps, than the ſuperior of the miſſion imagined. New gangs of the Mamelus croſſed the Igai; and the chriſtians were on the point of ſeeing themſelves again expoſed to all the horrors, with which they had already been ſurrounded, if father de Boroa had not had influence enough over them, to prevail on them to form a new army, which ſoon made all the parties of the enemy diſappear. But this diſgrace could neither cure them of their intention to return with freſh forces, nor of the hopes of being more ſucceſsful another time; and, at laſt, the miſſionaries perceived, that it would be the height of imprudence to leave the Neophytes any longer in a country, every minute liable to become the theatre of a war, by which, however ſucceſsful, they could be no gainers; and which, conſidering the diſparity of their arms, could not be expected to terminate, otherwiſe than in the utter ruin of a church, which it had coſt them ſo much to form. The provincial, therefore, concluded, that no time ſhould be loſt in conducting all the Neophytes, that could be gathered together, to places, where they might have nothing to fear from ſuch implacable enemies.

The chief difficulty, that attended this tranſmigration, was that of making the Neophytes conſent to it; moſt of them having declared, that they would rather run all the riſks, to which their continuing where they were might expoſe them, than roam into a diſtant country, in queſt of what others might call an aſylum, but which they ſhould always con-

conſider as a place of baniſhment. It, therefore, coſt no ſmall time reſolution and addreſs to bring them to do that, on which, in the main, they could not but be convinced their ſafety depended. This done, it was reſolved to fix them between the Uruguay and the Parana, near the place where theſe two great rivers approach within about fifteen leagues of each other, in order to give them two barriers eaſy to defend, and an opportunity of being more readily ſuccoured. This project, however, met with many obſtacles; but, means being found to ſurmount them, it was at laſt executed in the following manner.

THIS great multitude of men women and children were formed into three diviſions. Father Chriſtopher de Arenas was charged with the firſt; and it was as much as he could do, with all his courage and induſtry, to conduct them to the ſpot aſſigned him. Part of them diſbanded on the road, and he had much ado to make them return. Several wanted to ſtop in places, that were acceſſible only to ſavages, and where, of courſe, they muſt ſoon have relapſed into their old way of living; but he followed them every where, and often expoſed his life to bring them back. Some of them revolted openly, and even employed ſuch threats, as might have diſconcerted a man of leſs zeal and reſolution. At length, he had the good fortune to make them croſs the Parana, where he had orders to diſtribute them among the reductions of that province, till they could build towns for themſelves. It was at the paſſage of this river that the ſpirit of mutiny chiefly manifeſted itſelf, as they all took it into their heads, that the father was going to deliver them up into the hands of the Spaniards.

THE leaders of the ſecond diviſion had ſtill more to ſuffer, though a great deal leſs than thoſe of the third, not to loſe more of their flock, than even the Mame-

Mamelus had carried off from them. The perſon, who ſpared himſelf leaſt upon this occaſion, was the provincial; and the ſucceſs of this important enterprize was due chiefly to his courage, his prudence, and his unalterable meekneſs. Twelve thouſand Indians, excluſive of women and children, were thus happily collected together, in places where it was not poſſible to ſurprize them; and from which they could eaſily return to their ancient habitations, as ſoon as they ſhould find themſelves in a condition to maintain their ground there, which ſoon after happened to be the caſe. Some miſſionaries were then detached in queſt of thoſe who had ſeparated from the main body, in order to bring them back to the fold; and they not only ſucceeded in their errand, but had the conſolation of gaining over to Jeſus Chriſt ſeveral infidels, who could not help being charmed with their charity and paſtoral ſolicitude. No time was loſt in building huts to lodge this great multitude; and in putting them in a condition to provide by labour for all their other wants.

But it was not enough to ſecure theſe new chriſtians againſt a ſurprize. Their chiefs repreſented to the provincial, that, as long as they could not engage the Mamelus with equal arms, it was impoſſible they ſhould not become a prey to them in the end, in ſpite of all the precautions that could be taken to prevent it. Of this father Boroa and all the miſſionaries were equally convinced. But it was conſidered, in Spain, as a maxim of ſtate, not to introduce the uſe of fire arms among the Indians; and no precaution, it muſt be allowed, could be wiſer in regard to the Indians given in command, and who lived intermixed with the Spaniards. Theſe it imported greatly to keep under ſubjection. But this was not the caſe with

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the Indians we are now ſpeaking of. The fidelity of the firſt, whoſe ſubmiſſion was involuntary, could only be depended upon, in proportion to their inability to ſhake off the yoke; whereas, that of the ſecond being voluntary, and the advantages of it to them very conſpicuous, they could have no motive to revolt, as long as no attempts were made upon their liberty, in the poſſeſſion of which the ſovereign had promiſed to maintain them.

Besides, they were the only Spaniſh Indians, on whom the provinces of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata could depend for a barrier againſt the enterprizes of the Portugueze and the Indians of the frontiers of Brazil, who did not deſtroy the towns of Xerez Villarica and Ciudad Real; open themſelves a paſſage to Peru, through the North of Paraguay; and take poſſeſſion of the rich gold mines of *Cuyaba* and of *Monte groſſo*, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter; till they had firſt ruined the reductions of the province of Guayra. It is, no doubt, very ſurprizing, that the Spaniſh governors, to whom the miſſionaries made reiterated repreſentations on that head, ſhould have paid ſo little regard to them. But they ſuffered themſelves to be prejudiced againſt theſe miſſionaries by perſons, who had nothing in view but their own private intereſt, which they, beſides, very ill underſtood, and to which they ſacrificed that of both church and ſtate, from an unwillingneſs to ſee any of the natives become chriſtians, but ſuch as they could make ſlaves of.

On the preſent occaſion, however, the governors, even thoſe who had the welfare of the new chriſtians moſt at heart, were of opinion, they ought not to take upon themſelves to meddle in ſo delicate an affair, as that of granting the uſe of fire arms to the new chriſtians. And father de Boroa, perhaps, thought it dangerous to mention it to them, leſt, his project coming to tranſpire, ſome

oppoſitions

ſome oppoſitions might be made to it, which it would be a difficult matter to remove. But in the inſtructions, which he gave father de Montoya, on that miſſionary's ſetting out for Madrid, he had expreſsly recommended that article to him. Accordingly, father de Montoya propoſed it to the royal council of the Indies; and repreſented to that tribunal the abſolute impoſſibility of preſerving the reductions, expoſed as they were to the incurſions of the Portugueze and Indians of Brazil, if the Neophytes were any longer refuſed the uſe of fire arms.

He knew very well, that it would be objected, that, if theſe Indians, on ſeeing themſelves as well armed as the Spaniards, ſhould take it into their heads to revolt, it would be impoſſible to reduce them; ſeeing it was impoſſible to conquer them, when they had no other arms but their arrows and their mancanas. But he obviated this objection, by ſaying, that the miſſionaries did not intend to leave theſe arms at the diſcretion of the Neophytes; that they were reſolved to keep them themſelves, with all their ammunition, and never put them into their hands, but when they had good grounds to fear ſome irruption; nor even keep more in the reductions, than what were neceſſary to avoid being ſurprized, but depoſit all the reſt at the Aſſumption. He added, that, with his majeſty's leave, both arms and ammunition ſhould be purchaſed with the alms they might receive, ſo that their lordſhips need not fear their coſting the royal treaſury a ſingle farthing; and that, to inſtruct the Indians in the uſe of theſe arms, ſome lay brother jeſuits, who had ſerved in the army, ſhould be ſent for to the kingdom of Chili.

The king approved father de Montoya's reaſons, and judged the precautions, with which he ſup-

ſupported them, ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe. His majeſty, therefore, granted every thing the miſſionaries aſked; and ordered his miniſters to give ſuitable directions to the viceroy and the governors of the province of Paraguay. Several perſons have ſince laboured very hard to obtain a revocation of this indulgence; but the catholick king, who ſoon ſaw it was the beſt ſtep they could take, would never liſten to any propoſals for altering the regulations made on that head; and never have had occaſion to repent their ſteadineſs. In fact, not only neither the Mamelus nor their allies have dared to ſhew their faces in the chriſtian reductions, or have been able to penetrate with impunity into the provinces where they are ſituated; but there has ariſen among theſe Neophytes a militia, which, for more than an age paſt, has been the greateſt reſource of their ſovereign in this part of South America, againſt both foreign and domeſtic enemies; and which, notwithſtanding, it does not coſt him a ſingle farthing to pay or to maintain, as we ſhall ſoon have an opportunity to demonſtrate. But what is ſtill moſt ſurprizing in theſe Indian troops, the glory they have acquired by their victories, ſo far from puffing up their hearts, and giving them an air of liberty and independence, as might be naturally apprehended, has put a ſtop to thoſe mutinies, which their reiterated misfortunes had uſed before to occaſion; ſo that their paſtors have never found them more ſubmiſſive and docile, than ſince they procured them the means of living free from the apprehenſions of ſeeing their peace diſturbed. Thoſe, in a word, whoſe valour is the ſureſt palladium of the publick ſecurity, are the firſt to give, on every occaſion, proofs of the moſt inviolable loyalty, and the moſt exemplary devotion.

THE miſſionaries could eaſily foreſee this happy alteration, from the minute the Indians diſcovered

the meaſures theſe fathers had taken, to put them in a condition of no longer fearing any thing from their enemies. All murmuring immediately ceaſed; and ſome jeſuits took advantage of this calm to take the field, and run over the province of Tapé, and the neighbouring diſtricts, in queſt of thoſe, who, at the approach of the Mamelus, had taken ſhelter there in the woods and mountains; and they had the good fortune to pick up a great number of them, whom they conducted to Itapita. They, next, turned their thoughts to the replacing of thoſe, who had been carried off into Brazil, or whom they had loſt by death or deſertion; and father Antonio Palermo, followed by a company of the moſt fervent chriſtians, coaſted the Parana, by land, from its diſcharge into the Paraguay to the place where it receives the Monday; baptized ſeveral dying infants in this long and painful courſe; and returned to his church with one hundred and fifty proſelytes.

However, the indulgence, with which the Mamelus had been treated the preceding year, and which had prevented their entire defeat, proved a great obſtacle to the entire reunion of the Neophytes, who had diſperſed through fear of ſeeing the war break out again; and this fear was ſo much the more reaſonable, as ſome parties of the enemy frequently made their appearance in the neighbourhood of thoſe places, where reductions had formerly ſtood. One of theſe parties ſurprized two young Indians, that attended two miſſionaries then employed in ſcowering the ſame country in queſt of the diſperſed chriſtians; and thought they had ſufficiently ſecured them by tying their hands. But, one night that theſe children lay ſtretched in the midſt of the gang, finding them all faſt aſleep, they crept to the fire; put their hands into it; and had courage enough to hold them there long

long enough to burn the ſtrings with which they were bound. They, then, withdrew without being perceived; and by by-roads, with which they happened to be acquainted, rejoined their paſtors after walking fourteen leagues without ſtopping to reſt themſelves.

On the advice they gave, that the Mamelus ſeemed to have ſome notion of approaching the Parana, Don Pedro de Lugo, governor of Paraguay, who had lately received very preciſe orders from his catholic majeſty to omit nothing, that might contribute to the ſafety of the reductions within his province, and who was actually viſiting them with a ſtrong eſcort, aſſembled four thouſand Indians, and led them towards the canton of *Caarupa Guayzu*, where the young Indians had left the enemy. Father Alfaro waited upon him with ſome other Indians; but, having one day taken the lead of the reſt, a Mamelus whom he did not perceive, but by whom he happened to be known, diſcharged a blunderbuſs at him, and tumbled him dead from off his horſe.

As ſoon as the governor heard of this accident, he formed his troops, and fell ſo ſuddenly upon the enemy, who little expected to be ſo ſoon attacked, that, after cutting to pieces all thoſe who made any reſiſtance, he made almoſt all the reſt priſoners. He committed them to the care of the Neophytes, entirely abandoning to their diſcretion all the Tupis who happened to be among them. The Neophytes treated the Tupis ſo well, that they prevailed on them to be inſtructed in our divine myſteries; and, ſoon after baptiſm, put an end to their captivity. As to the Mamelus, they were conducted to the Aſſumption, within eighty leagues of which the battle had been fought; and every one expected they would be puniſhed like banditti taken in arms againſt their ſovereign. But

the governor contented himſelf with reproaching them with their cruelties, and threatening them with the anger of heaven, if they continued their hoſtilities. He, then, ſent them to Buenos Ayres, whoſe governor, at the ſolicitation of ſome of the inhabitants, ſet them at liberty, with leave to return to their own country.

The body of father Alfaro was carried to the reduction of the Conception ſituated on the Uruguay, where it was interred with all the honours the poverty of the Neophytes would admit of; and father Claudius Ruier was appointed ſuperior of the miſſions in his room. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of this employment, when Don Pedro Eſtevan d'Avila, governor of Rio de la Plata, applied to him for eighty Neophytes to be employed in an expedition, the ſucceſs of which, he ſaid might greatly contribute to the ſecurity of the reductions ſituated in this province. The nature of the affair was as follows.

To the eaſt of Rio de la Plata, and about the twenty eighth or twenty ninth degree of South latitude, there is a lake of a very irregular figure, eighty leagues in length, and very narrow in proportion to its length. This lake, in the ancient maps, is called the lake of *Caracaras*; and, in the more modern, that of *Ybera*. From the eaſtern extremity of this lake there iſſue two little rivers, one of which falls into the Rio de la Plata, and the other into the Uruguay; the firſt, under the name of *Rio Mirinay*; and the ſecond, under that of *Rio Corrientes*. Father del Techo contents himſelf with ſaying, that the lake, or as he calls it, the marſh of Caracaras, communicates with the Parana. I have elſewhere obſerved, that the name of Parana is often given to that part of the Rio de la Plata, which lies between its junction with the Paraguay and the mouth of the Uruguay.

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The ſame hiſtorian adds, that this lake is covered with floating iſlands, like thoſe in a little lake near St. Omers; and that they afforded a retreat to Indians of different nations, eſpecially the Caracaras, who having inveigled ſome Spaniards among them, in 1553, by applying to them for aſſiſtance againſt their enemies, perfidiouſly maſſacred them; and actually harboured ſome renegadoes of the reduction of St. Anne, and the murderers of father Eſpinoſa. The impunity they enjoyed, in conſequence of the difficulty of attacking them, had rendered them very inſolent. They frequently committed great diſorders in the countries about the lake, and had lately burnt to the ground the church belonging to the reduction of St. Anne.

Don Pedro having, at length, reſolved to purge his province of ſuch troubleſome inmates, father Romero immediately conducted to Buenos Ayres the number of Neophytes, he had required for that purpoſe. Don Pedro appointed to command them the brave Don Juan de Garay, who, after a hundred leagues march, arrived within ſight of the lake, where he found the inhabitants diſpoſed to diſpute his entrance. But he found means to embark with all his men; and, though the enemy made pretty good uſe of all their advantages, he puſhed them with ſo much valour and conduct, that, after driving them from iſland to iſland, he killed or took priſoner every man of them. It was on this occaſion, that the militia of the reductions firſt ſhewed what might be expected from them, when well armed and officered; for it appears that they had by this time got fire arms.

1640. This expedition was followed by another, which had not ſo happy an iſſue. I ſaid that there were ſome Calchaquis in the province of Rio de la Plata, near Buenos Ayres. Theſe Indians were no leſs enemies to the Spaniards, than

thoſe of the ſame name, who frequently gave ſuch uneaſineſs to the province of Tucuman; and they had lately advanced towards Santafé, and ravaged the country about it, from which the governor reſolved to drive them. For this purpoſe he raiſed ſome troops, and ſent to the reductions of his province for ſix hundred Indians, whom father Romero, and father Arias, immediately led to his aſſiſtance. He, then, put himſelf at the head of this little army; and marched in good order againſt the Calchaquis, but without ſending, as he ought to have done, to reconnoitre them. He had commanded in Flanders, and obſtinately refuſed to act againſt theſe barbarians in any other manner, than he would have done againſt regular troops; but he paid dear for his imprudence. The Calchaquis remained ſo well poſted in their marſhes, that he had conſumed all his proviſions, before he could join them; ſo that he found himſelf obliged to retreat, without reaping any other benefit by an expedition, for which he had made vaſt preparations, than that of carrying home three hundred priſoners taken by the Neophytes.

Father Diaz Tano was, by this, returned to Buenos Ayres, with a numerous reinforcement of miſſionaries. He had accompanied father de Montoya as far as Madrid, and from thence purſued his journey to Rome. Father Vitelleſchi, his general, was overwhelmed with grief on the report he made of the condition, in which he had left the Indian churches of Paraguay; and, unable to give him any other comfort but that of mixing tears with him, he conducted him to the audience of Urban VIII, who then governed the church. This pontiff, equally touched with the general of the company, at the account the miſſionary gave him of enormities committed by the Mamelus and the Indians of Brazil, immediately gave orders

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for making out a brief, in which he threatened with the anathemas of the church, both the authors and abettors of ſuch ſcandalous diſorders, if they did not immediately put a ſtop to them.

The Pope, then, deſired a minute account of the proceedings of the Jeſuits in Paraguay; and he could not apply to a perſon better qualified to ſatisfy him than father Tano, who forgot nothing to give his holineſs a thorough inſight into the affairs of theſe miſſions; and was, in return, loaded with preſents and other marks of the moſt affectionate tenderneſs for himſelf and his fellow labourers, particularly father Orighi, whoſe brother was actually cardinal, and one of whoſe grand-nephews died lately, inveſted with the ſame dignity. The pope honoured himſelf with the title of his old friend. In ſhort, the pope granted him every thing he could wiſh for, in order to ſecure the tranquility of the new chriſtians. He was even beforehand with father Tano, and would have made him completely happy, could that miſſionary anſwer for the thunder of the Vatican, being ſufficient to put an end to all the evils, of which he had given his holineſs an account.

Finding, on his return to Madrid, that father de Montoya had formed a company of miſſionaries for him, he made what haſte he could to Liſbon, to freight a ſhip for their paſſage. The miſſionaries were on the point of going aboard, the ſhip only waiting for them to put to ſea, when father Tano received notice, that the ſecretary of ſtate, Don Miguel de Vaſconcellos, (the ſame who, ſoon after, ſtained with his blood the ſcene of the revolution of Portugal) had forbid the commandant of the fort of Belem to let their veſſel paſs the bar. Upon this, he had recourſe to the Vicereine, the ducheſs dowager of Mantua; and having immediately obtained from this princeſs a revocation

of the ſecretary's order, he loſt no time in taking the benefit of it,

The navigation proved pretty favourable, all to the death of two of the miſſionaries by a diſorder which broke out amongſt the ſhip's company, till they arrived in the thirty fifth degree of ſouth latitude, when a violent north wind drove them to the mouth of the ſtreights of Magellan, from whence they found it impoſſible to make cape St. Mary, in order to enter into the bay of Rio de la Plata; or even withſtand the violence of the ſtorm; ſo that the pilot was obliged to ſteer for Rio de Janeyro, where the miſſionaries were received by the governor, Don Emanuel Sa, with great honours.

Some days after their arrival, father Tano, with the advice of the eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors, publiſhed the papal briefs we juſt now mentioned, and thereby brought upon his back moſt of the inhabitants. The gates of the Jeſuits college and of their church were forced open; and thoſe religious had every thing to fear from the firſt tranſports of the furious multitude, if the governor and magiſtrates had not run with an armed force to their aſſiſtance. Don Emanuel, upon this, aſſembled the principal inhabitants, and father Tano, who was requeſted to aſſiſt at this meeting, after the briefs had been read, gave an account of every ſtep he had taken on this occaſion. But though his conduct was generally approved by the aſſembly, the populace grew more and more outrageous; ſo that, in order to appeaſe them, it was found neceſſary to interpoſe a pretended appeal to the Pope better inſtructed. Some have ſaid, that it was the miſſionary himſelf, who firſt gave this advice. Be that as it will, the publication of this appeal put a ſtop to the ſedition. Indeed it was high time to think of ſome remedy; for father Tano,

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and father Mota, viſitor of the jeſuits of Brazil, were on the point of falling victims to it.

It was not ſo eaſy to appeaſe the town of Saints, in the province of Rio Janeyro; and ſtill leſs that of St. Paul of Piratiningue. Don Ferdinand Rodriguez, who officiated as vicar general in the firſt, having publiſhed the Pope's brief, by order of Don Pedro Albornez, Adminiſtrator of the biſhoprick, one of the congregation got up, and ſaid, that he appealed to the king's exchequer. Upon this, Rodriguez excommunicated him directly; but, by ſo doing, rendered part of the inhabitants quite furious. The commanding officer was then requeſted to take in hand the cauſe of the publick; and, on his refuſing it, the ſeditious flocked to the church in a tumultuous manner, where they began by vomiting againſt the vicar all the injuries, the paſſion with which they were tranſported could ſuggeſt. They, then, fell upon him; knocked him down; and, with a ſword to his throat, threatened to murder him, if he did not revoke all he had done. But he would not yield; and his firmneſs diſconcerted them. They then drew up an appeal themſelves, and would have forced him to ſign it; but they could only get him to declare, that he approved it as far as the rules of the church, and his conſcience, would permit him. They then called for the Pope's brief, and he told them the ſuperior of the jeſuits had it.

Upon this, they poſted directly to the houſe of theſe fathers. The ſuperior on hearing the noiſe which announced their coming, put on his ſacerdotal habits; took the holy ciborium into his hands; advanced to the gates of the houſe; and made a pathetick diſcourſe to them on the reſpect and obedience due to the vicar of Jeſus Chriſt. Some of them proſtrated themſelves to adore

adore the Lord's body; others continued ſtanding, ſaying, that, though they adored with all their ſoul the holy ſacrament of the altar, they would never part with their ſlaves, which was all they had to depend upon. One of them went ſo far as to cry out, that they ſhould fire on the prieſt. All called for the brief; and, having got a copy of it, returned to the grand vicar, for his abſolution of the cenſures they might have incurred, but he refuſed it.

They, then, applied for it to ſome religious, who judging of the caſe, according to their own manner of ſtating it, told them they had no need of any; the brief importing, that it ſhould be publiſhed, if there was no juſt reaſon for ſuppreſſing it. This anſwer contributed to render the jeſuits ſtill more odious; and nothing was to be heard all over the town but the voices of people crying out, that it was now high time to drive out of it theſe officious defenders of the liberties of the Indians; and the reports of their expulſion having reached Rio Janeyro, the captain of a merchant ſhip then at anchor there, made a general diſcharge of his cannon, to expreſs his joy at the event. But the governor puniſhed him ſeverely for it. He had already cauſed another to be whipt for behaving, in a very inſolent manner, in the church of the jeſuits.

It was during this ferment that there arrived at Brazil an account of the duke of Braganca having been declared king of Portugal, and of the whole kingdom having acknowledged him in that quality. Father Tano immediately foreſaw what influence this important event might have on the affairs of Paraguay, as well on account of the averſion which the Portugueze ſtill retained for the Spaniards; as becauſe the new king of Portugal might not be ſo ſoon in a condition to ſuppreſs effectually the courſes of the Mamelus, more enraged than ever againſt the jeſuits, whom they had but

but juſt expelled their city. He even foreſaw that this prince might poſſibly be brought to conſider their inroads as a means of weakening, in South America, the power of his catholic majeſty, with whom it was impoſſible he ſhould not have a long war to maintain, in ſupport of his newly acquired royalty. But two other reaſons effectually determined him not to make any longer ſtay in Brazil; the firſt was, that he feared leſt a new revolution ſhould make him loſe ſome of the miſſionaries he brought from Europe, as they were ſubjects to the new king; the ſecond, that he had already buried ſeveral of them ſince his arrival at Rio Janeyro. He, therefore, reimbarked the beginning of November, and came to an anchor before Buenos Ayres the latter end of the ſame month.

FATHER de Montoya had not been leſs ſucceſsful at Madrid, than father Tano had been at Rome. The firſt thing he did on his arrival there, was to aſk an audience of his majeſty, who immediately granted it. He preſented his memorials to this prince, who peruſed them with great attention, and named commiſſaries from among the members of the royal councils of Caſtile, and the Indies, to examine them, and report their opinion thereon. Father de Montoya required; firſt, the execution of a law publiſhed in 1611, by which the Spaniards were again forbid to deprive of their liberty the Indians who had not been made priſoners in a juſt war; ſecondly, that the ſovereign Pontif ſhould be requeſted to confirm the briefs of Paul III and Clement VIII, forbidding the ſame iniquitous practice; thirdly, that thoſe who proved diſobedient thereto ſhould be judged by the holy office; fourthly, that the Neophytes, who had been made ſlaves and conducted to Brazil, ſhould be ſet at liberty; and the Mamelus both repreſſed and puniſhed.

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These demands and ſome others of leſs importance appeared ſo very juſt and reaſonable to the commiſſaries, that the king, by their advice, ordered an edict to be drawn up, in which his majeſty, after renewing all the preceding decrees relating to the liberty of the Indians, ſignified, that being informed of the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue having ruined all the Indian towns, founded in Guayra by the jeſuits; of their having carried off and reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery upwards of thirty thouſand Neophytes; of their having begun to commit the ſame enormities in Tapé, and menacing Uruguay with them; of their having already made ſlaves there of ſome free Indians, and maſſacred others; and all this in contempt of reiterated edicts; and being reſolved to puniſh ſuch monſtrous crimes, he declares, the courſes of the ſaid inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue, commonly called Mamelus, unjuſt, contrary to all laws both human and divine, and to the honour of the chriſtian religion; orders that the cognizance of the ſaid crimes be referred to the tribunal of the holy office; that all the Indians reduced to ſlavery be immediately ſet at liberty; and that ſuch, as hereafter ſhall be convicted of ſo crying an injuſtice and cruelty, ſhould be treated as perſons guilty of high treaſon.

He, then, renewed the edict, forbidding any of the Indians converted by the jeſuits, in Guayra, Tapé, Parana and Uruguay, to be conſidered otherwiſe than as immediate vaſſals to the crown, or to be given in command, or obliged to do perſonal ſervice to any ſubject, under any pretext whatſoever. His majeſty regulated by the ſame decree the tribute, which the ſame Neophytes were to pay to his domain. But this laſt article could not be put in execution till the year 1649, becauſe,

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till then, the Indians were not in a condition to pay any tribute; and this epocha muſt not be forgot, as it will ſerve to ſhew the little foundation there was for the accuſations brought againſt the miſſionaries in regard to this tribute.

But father de Montoya, notwithſtanding the facility with which he obtained every thing he aſked, was well aware, eſpecially ſince the revolution of Portugal had happened, that this edict of his majeſty would never be ſufficient to ſcreen the reductions againſt the violences of the Mamelus, as long as the Indians had no other arms but their arrows and their mancanas to oppoſe them with. He, therefore, preſented the memorial I already mentioned, in which he made evidently appear the neceſſity of allowing them the uſe of fire arms. The king, having conſulted his royal council of the Indies, came to the reſolution I have already mentioned. People in Paraguay were greatly ſurprized at father Montoya's ſucceſs in ſo delicate an affair. But beſides the council's not finding any thing to reply to the ſolidity of the reaſons, on which the miſſionary's demand was founded, his eminent virtues, and the great things he had done in Paraguay, had acquired him the general eſteem of prince and people. However, the church he had contributed ſo much to form, and whoſe intereſts he had undertaken ſo long a voyage to defend, never had the happineſs of ſeeing him again. After ſome unexpected delays in Spain, he paſſed over to Peru, where he laboured ſucceſsfully, in conjunction with the viceroy, to execute ſome orders he had obtained, thoſe eſpecially which related to the conſtruction and uſe of fire arms in the reductions; he then was ordered to Tucuman, and from Tucuman back again to Lima, where he finiſhed his courſe in the year 1652, aged ſeventy. In conſequence

ſequenſce of the idea which the inhabitants of this city had conceived of his eminent ſanctity, his body was interred with honours which had more the air of a triumph than a funeral. The viceroy and principal members of the royal audience carried his remains to the grave.

1640-41. About this time, a new attempt was made to reduce the Calchaquis to the faith by means of the jeſuits, who were now authorized to aſſure them, that they ſhould never be ſubjected to any kind of ſervitude. The governor of Tucuman, which had ſuffered greatly by the incurſions of theſe barbarians, had, it ſeems lately concluded a peace with them, and judged this was the only method to make it laſting. Accordingly, two jeſuits were ſent to them; and theſe fathers, after many dangers and difficulties, had the good fortune to found a reduction among them by the name of St. Charles. Another jeſuit, called father Paſtor, offered himſelf to the biſhop to make an excurſion into Chaco on the ſame errand; and, his offer being received by this prelate ever ſolicitous for the ſalvation of thoſe commitred to his care, he immediately ſet out with another called Gaſpard Cerqueyra, who, being born at the Aſſumption, was maſter of the Abipone language current in all this part of Chaco. But, as the Indians on the frontiers of Tucuman were too jealous of the Spaniards to liſten willingly to any preachers, they reſolved not to ſtop, till they had reached the *Abipones*, a nation ſettled at the eaſtern extremity of this extenſive country.

The firſt place they made any conſiderable ſtay at, was a large Indian town called *Matara*, one hundred leagues from Santiago, where they had been given to underſtand they would find guides to conduct them to the Abipones. Beſides, the Mataranes called themſelves chriſtians; and, in fact,

fact, ſeveral perſons had been baptized at Mataia by St. Francis Solano; and, after him, by two jeſuits, who had preached the goſpel there; and ſome of them even had pretty well perſevered in the practice of the chief duties of religion, though they ſcarce knew any thing of the principles of it; all the miniſtry of a clergyman ſent them lately from Buenos Ayres, with the title of pariſh prieſt, conſiſting in baptizing and inſtructing the children of thoſe who called themſelves chriſtians. Had he contented himſelf with conferring that ſacrament upon ſuch as were in danger of dying, his zeal would have been commendable; but he viſibly expoſed the reſt to the danger of diſhonouring the character he conferred on them; for they ſeldom ſaw him again when they grew up a little, but profaned the exerciſes of religion with ſeveral ſuperſtitious practices, and abandoned themſelves to all the exceſſes, of which the infidels gave them the example.

The only, or, at leaſt, the moſt ordinary, occupation of the Mataranes, was to viſit and regale each other; but their feaſts always terminated in a general intoxication. They celebrated the anniverſary of the death of their kinſmen in a pretty odd manner; they invited all their friends and relations to it, and every one of the gueſts was obliged to bring with him a dead oſtrich. If it happened to be the anniverſary of more perſons than one, then the gueſts were to bring, each, as many oſtriches, as there were deaths to be commemorated, becauſe, in a kind of funeral proceſſion made on theſe occaſions, and attended with extraordinary ceremonies, each of the deceaſed was to be repreſented by his own oſtrich. The gueſts, likewiſe, made a preſent to the perſon who had invited them; and who, by accepting it, laid himſelf under the obligation of returning the compliment in kind, when

when he ſhould be invited by them. This engagement even deſcended to his heirs, when he had not time to ſatisfy it himſelf; and to fail in it would have been deemed a juſt cauſe of war between the different towns to which the parties belonged. Theſe ſolemnities laſted four days, on the laſt of which the company bewailed the deceaſed for the ſpace of one hour. Theſe tears were ſucceeded by immoderate laughter, by dancing and feaſting, during which it was an indiſpenſable duty to get drunk. They, then, put an end to the meeting by a kind of bacchanalian rites, attended by all the diſorders that might be expected from ſuch an improvement upon their natural barbarity.

The jeſuits, however, found them pretty docile; eaſily prevailed on thoſe who had been baptized, to confeſs themſelves; and left them all in the beſt diſpoſitions. The cacique even inſiſted on accompanying them with a good eſcort, as far as the Abipones; but, though he and his ſubjects might be ſuppoſed to know the country they had to paſs through, they, in a ſhort time, were ſo diſheartened by the dangers and difficulties of the journey, that they would have turned back, if the fathers had not found means to detain them by little preſents. But, when they found themſelves on the point of entering the country of the Abipones, their courage forſook them to ſuch a degree, (for it ſeems they and the Abipones had been at war for ſome time paſt,) that father Paſtor had much ado to reaſſure them. Two of them, however, had reſolution to accompany father de Cerqueira, whom father Paſtor thought proper to ſend forward, in order to diſcover on what ſide it was propereſt to enter the country.

These reconnoiterers were ſoon diſcovered; and, the alarm ſpread ſo ſuddenly all over the country, that in a ſhort time they could diſcover two hun-

hundred Indians on horſeback, but without ſaddles or ſtirrups, making towards them in full gallop. But, though their wild and ſavage looks, their looſe diſordered hair, and the long javelins they held in their hands, might well be ſuppoſed capable of ſtriking terror into a man, who ſaw himſelf alone in a manner, and at their diſcretion; the miſſionary, full of confidence in him, without whoſe permiſſion they could not touch a ſingle hair of his head, immediately doubled his pace to meet them; and, lifting up his crucifix, "Children, cried he, two of my brethren formerly announced the goſpel to your nation, whoſe eſteem, and even confidence, they acquired. Animated by the ſame zeal for the ſalvation of your ſouls, I am likewiſe come a great way, in ſpite of a thouſand dangers and difficulties, to endeavour to make you open your eyes to your neareſt concerns. 'Tis in vain you attempt to terrify me. Death, with which you threaten me, is the chief object of my wiſhes. But I conjure you not to ſpurn at a benefit, of which you would too late repent the loſs. Beſides, what have you to fear from a ſingle man, and without arms? The confidence with which I put myſelf into your power ought to convince you, that I am come here merely to ſerve you."

The barbarians, at firſt, ſtunned by the boldneſs of the apoſtolic man, were, in a ſhort time, ſo charmed with his diſcourſe, that they threw their arms at his feet, and ſaluted him with the profoundeſt reſpect. He, then, told them, that he had left at ſome diſtance behind him his ſuperior, a man advanced in years, and greatly eſteemed by ſeveral Indian nations. Upon this, the commander of the troop immediately diſpatched his ſon to invite father Paſtor, in his name, to come and ſee him; and, the moment the young Indian perceived him, he alighted from his horſe, ſaluted him reſpectfully, and told

him, that his father longed greatly to ſee him. The miſſionary, tranſported at ſo unexpected an invitation, immediately ſet out, and was very well received by the commander, who conducted him, with his companion, to the neareſt town, followed by all his horſemen. Here they entered, as it were, in triumph, amidſt the inhabitants, who were come to meet them, and conducted them to a cabin, the floor of which they had the precaution, or rather politeneſs, to cover with ſkins. Refreſhments were then laid before them, but ſo nauſeous, that, notwithſtanding their great want of food, and their having been accuſtomed, for a long time paſt, to the moſt inſipid, the very ſight of it turned their ſtomachs; and they had much ado to get down a few morſels, and conceal their diſguſt.

The ſecond day after their arrival, the principal cacique of the nation, called *Caliquila*, being informed by father Paſtor of his deſign to make an eſtabliſhment in the country, he not only gave his conſent, but even expreſſed great joy at it; and conducted the two miſſionaries to his own town, ſituated at the other ſide of the red river. As ſoon as they were arrived there, he begged them to give him a circumſtantial account of what they intended to do; and, on their complying, told them, that he was very well ſatisfied the children ſhould be baptized, provided they ſhould not be obliged to go morning and evening to church, as they did in the reductions of the Guaranis; ſince it could not fail of producing in them a habit of idleneſs, and, thereby, rendering them leſs fit for war, as it had happened to the Mataranes.

Father Paſtor replied, that religious exerciſes could by no means tend to leſſen a man's courage; and that the Spaniards, and even the Guaranis of whom he had been ſpeaking, were a ſtriking proof of it; that, on the contrary, they contributed

buted greatly to inſpire true valour; and that the Mataranes had never been braver, than while they continued good chriſtians. Caliquila yielded to theſe examples; but he added, that he would not ſuffer, that the Abipones ſhould be hindered from carrying their arms into church along with them, or beat with rods, when they had committed any fault, as was cuſtomary in the reductions, and among the Spaniards. The father gave up theſe two points, knowing that he might ſpeak to them again, when religion had taken a deeper root in their hearts. They, then, required, that the caciques, and all the adults who might die in the chriſtian religion, ſhould be buried on the tops of the mountains, near the monuments erected in honour of their divinities. Father Paſtor made anſwer, that this was a ſuperſtition incompatible with the holineſs of the chriſtian religion; and that, by the time he ſhould have inſtructed them better, they would, themſelves, be the firſt to condemn it. To this they made no reply, and from their ſilence he concluded, that he ſhould eaſily make them give up this article, likewiſe.

After a month's ſtay among the Abipones, father de Cerqueyra ſet out to reconduct the Mataranes to their own country; and father Paſtor, to compenſate the loſs of his companion, not content with the ſeparate inſtructions he every day gave to the children and adults, compoſed, with the aſſiſtance of an interpreter left him by father Cerqueyra, a little catechiſm in the *Tonocote* language, which is current all over this country. He was ſoon after obliged to return to Santiago, to the no ſmall concern of the Abipones, to whom he promiſed that he would by no means abandon them. Accordingly, he very often applied to his provincial in their behalf; but the reductions in

the province of Uruguay, which were growing more numerous from one day to another, required ſo many miſſionaries, that it was impoſſible to let the Abipones have one. Perhaps, it did not appear as evidently then, as it has done ſince, of what importance it was to make a ſolid eſtabliſhment in this part of Chaco, and gain over a nation, which might have contributed to it more than any other, and which on being neglected, came to be one of the crueleſt enemies to the chriſtian reductions. Be that as it will, the ſcarcity of miſſionaries was ſoon after encreaſed, in conſequence of an edict iſſued by the royal council of the Indies, forbidding any miſſionaries to enter Paraguay, but ſuch as were natural born ſubjects of the crown of Spain; ſo that father Paſtor, who had been ſent over to Europe to ſolicit a reinforcement of evangelical labourers, of a numerous body gathered at Seville to accompany him back, could take with him but one prieſt and thirteen novices and ſtudents. This was not the only time the propagation of the goſpel in Paraguay received a check from reſtrictions of this kind. The royal council of the Indies did not as yet penetrate the motives of thoſe, who inſpired this miſtruſt, to which the conduct of former foreign miſſionaries had not given the leaſt room.

The Abipones are in general above the middle ſtature, and of a robuſt conſtitution. In ſummer they go quite naked; but in winter cover themſelves with ſkins. They hang their mancanas to their neck; carry a quiver ſlung acroſs their ſhoulders; and never go without a bow in their right hand, and a javelin or very long arrow in the left. They paint themſelves all over with different colours, and thoſe think themſelves handſomeſt, who make themſelves look moſt like tigers. They make holes in their lips and noſtrils, and ſeveral parts

parts of their ſkins, to ſtick oſtrich feathers into them; and to ſee them thus cloathed all over with feathers, one would imagine they wanted to ſoar into the air. The beard appears ſo hideous a thing to them, that, when the leaſt hair appears, they directly pull it up by the roots.

To have a right to wear his hair among theſe Indians, a man muſt have killed an enemy; and, to attain to military honours, and acquire any reputation for courage and bravery, he muſt have paſſed through tryals like thoſe I deſcribed in ſpeaking of the Guaycuras. The Abipones, from their infancy, accuſtom themſelves to the greateſt inſenſibility, by inflicting the ſharpeſt pains on themſelves, ſo that they, at laſt, bring themſelves to laugh under the ſevereſt. After all, we muſt allow, that theſe barbarians have a true notion of courage, which conſiſts more, and ſhews itſelf better, in a conſtancy to ſuffer great evils, than in a readineſs to expoſe oneſelf to the greateſt dangers.

The women, among the Abipones, are covered from the waiſt to the knees; and pricked all over the reſt of the body; but eſpecially the face and boſom. Very often, all that can be ſeen of their ſkins is a kind of moſaic work, compoſed of different colours ſunk into the ſkin; and all of them ſhave the back part of their head. At the death of a cacique, the whole nation, both men and women change names, and eat no fiſh for a month. They ſeldom rear but one child of each ſex, murdering the reſt as faſt as they come into the world, till the eldeſt are ſtrong enough to walk alone. They think to juſtify this cruelty by ſaying, that, as they are almoſt conſtantly travelling from one place to another, it is impoſſible for them to take care of more infants than two at a time; one to be carried by the father, and the other by the mother.

The old women take upon them to be great witches; and it would be no eaſy matter to convert them. Father Paſtor, having one day viſited one of them at the point of death, and having told her that if ſhe died without baptiſm, her ſoul would be eternally tormented by the devils, ſhe very calmly anſwered, that they had been her friends for a long time; and ſhe was, therefore, very ſure that they would do her no harm. However, to judge of matters by the diſpoſitions, in which the miſſionaries left theſe Indians, there is all the reaſon in the world to believe, that the goſpel would make the greateſt progreſs among them. At leaſt it is certain, that no one could be better diſpoſed than Caliquila, at the time father Paſtor was obliged to quit him. This cacique, finding it impoſſible to detain him any longer, accompanied him, with ſeveral of his vaſſals, to Santiago; found him in proviſions during the whole journey; and aſſured him, at his departure to return home, that the fathers of the company would be well received in every place where he had the leaſt credit.

To reaſſume the thread of our hiſtory; at the time that father Paſtor was preparing to make Jeſus Chriſt known to the Abipones, the miſſionaries between the Parana and the Uruguay, having received certain advice, that the Mamelus were making great preparations of war, formed, out of all the militia of the reductions, a body of four thouſand men, ſome armed with arrows, and ſome with ſlings; for as yet they could only give firearms to the officers, who amounted to three hundred. This little army took poſt in a ſpot within a days march of the enemy, who were already remounting the little river Acaray, in three hundred pirogues, to the number of four hundred Mamelus and three hundred and ſeventy Tupis. But, notwithſtanding their inferiority, they deſpiſed

ſed the Neophytes ſo much, that, as ſoon as they received intelligence of their approach, they tugged harder than ever at their oars to join them.

The chriſtians were poſted in a little gulf, under the command of a cacique called *Abiaru*, who, ſeeing the enemy come towards them with ſo much confidence, thought proper to encreaſe it, by pretending to fear them. He, therefore, remounted the Acaray, with five or ſix pirogues, as if he only intended to parley with them. The Mamelus permitted him to approach; but, when he was within hearing, the commander ordered him to be told, that he had nothing to do but ſurrender at diſcretion. Abiaru, upon this, aſſuming an air of intrepidity, reproached the commander, who was come forward to receive his anſwer, with the cruelty and injuſtice, with which his nation had treated chriſtians, who had never given him him the leaſt cauſe of complaint; aſſured him, that they were all reſolved to periſh rather than loſe their liberty; and added, that is was a ſhame for men, who called themſelves chriſtans, to attempt to deprive, of it, thoſe who profeſſed the ſame religion.

The commander, inſtead of making any anſwer, ordered his little fleet to keep moving on, till, at length, he diſcovered that of the Neophytes making towards him leiſurely in the fineſt order. The next moment, the chriſtians began the battle by a diſcharge of a cannon, which ſunk three of the enemy's pirogues. The miſſionaries and the old men, with the women and children, were all this time on the banks of the river, invoking, with a loud voice, the apoſtle of the Indies; nor was it in vain. The enemy, being very roughly handled by water, imagined they might have better fortune aſhore; but they were greatly miſtaken. The Neophytes attacked them with ſo much reſolution, that they muſt have entirely

defeated them, had not night favoured their retreat. For, though Abiaru had loſt but three men, he thought better to give his ſoldiers, greatly fatigued, ſome little reſpite, than purſue the enemy in the dark, at the riſk of falling into ſome ambuſcade.

The next day, the Mamelus appeared again in order of battle; upon which the Neophytes like wiſe formed, and marched up to them; and, as the enemy had loſt a great number of men the preceeding day, Abiaru extended his troops to incloſe them. He then attacked them ſo ſuddenly, that they fell directly into diſorder; and what followed, was rather a butchering, than a battle. A ſudden hurricane having parted the two armies, the few Mamelus, who remained, took advantage of it to fly into a wood, whither, the ſtorm having ſoon abated, the Neophytes purſued them. This produced a third engagement, which, though carried on in ſmall parties, was attended with great bloodſhed. At laſt, the enemy, after a pretty vigorous reſiſtance, took advantage of their ſituation to retreat. The greateſt loſs fell on the Tupis, ſeveral of whom came in afterwards and ſurrendered to the chriſtians, being no longer able, they ſaid, to put up with the pride and cruelty of the Mamelus. Abiaru's loſs, in the two laſt engagements, amounted, as in the firſt, to but three men killed and forty wounded.

The Mamelus, afraid for the future to approach the Indians of the reductions, attacked, in ſmall parties, ſuch other Indians, as they could meet with. But they had ſoon reaſon to grow ſick of this new attempt. The Neophytes of the reduction of St. Thereſa, after the deſtruction of that town, had fled for refuge towards the great river Tebiquari; and ſome wild Indians, even of theſe in alliance with

with the Mamelus, happening to meet with a party of them, joined them as friends, and were received as ſuch. But, when the banditti leaſt expected it, they fell upon them, cut them to pieces; and then made the beſt of their way to the reductions on the Parana. Other wild Indians, who had been attacked by two other parties of theſe banditti, having had the good fortune to get the better of them, maſſacred them all without mercy. From theſe little loſſes, which ſerved greatly to keep the new chriſtians upon their guard, they reaped as conſiderable advantages, as from their victories, which had coſt twelve hundred Mamelus their lives, and deſtroyed a great part of their auxillary troops. The chief of theſe advantages was the reunion of almoſt all thoſe, who, for fear of being made ſlaves, had fled from the reductions, and the releaſe of ſeveral, whom the Mamelus had, even lately, carried off, and whom they could not now keep ſo good a watch upon, on account of the perpetual apprehenſions they were under of being taken themſelves.

1642. The reductions, at this time, enjoyed a tranquility ſo much the more agreeable, as it ſeemed no longer in the power of the Mamelus to interrupt it; and the form of their government had almoſt attained the perfection, in which we now behold it. Thoſe in the two provinces of Parana and Uruguay amounted to twenty-nine, including ſuch as had been been lately repaired; and each had two prieſts, very much taken up in reviving the fervour of the Neophytes, greatly abated by their late misfortunes, eſpecially in the province of Uruguay; and in taking proper meaſures to fill up the vacancies among them. But, though the Mamelus durſt not attack the reductions, they prowled about the woods and deſarts in order to carry off all the Indians they could meet with;

with; and a great number of Indians, that it had not as yet been poſſible to rally, fell into their hands, and were very cruelly treated by them. Theſe banditti, having attempted the virtue of their female captives, murdered a widow, who had refuſed to comply with their brutal paſſion; a body of the Neophytes, as ſoon as the report of theſe diſorders reached the reductions, took the field; purſued the miſcreants to the mountains of Tapé; killed the greateſt part of them; and delivered upwards of two thouſand captives, among whom there happened to be ſeveral infidels, who gave themſelves up to their deliverers; and, in a ſhort time, became excellent chriſtians. This ſucceſs at laſt convinced the Mamelus, that it was dangerous for them to appear even in the neighbourhood of the reductions.

But, while the Jeſuits and the new chriſtians were triumphing over a foreign enemy, they were daily approaching the danger of being ruined by a domeſtic one. This was the celebrated Don Bernardin de Cardenas, born in the city of la Plata, of a very noble family, who had entered very young into the order of St. Francis, in which, beſides leading a moſt mortified life, he made ſuch a figure, both as a preacher and a miſſionary, that, though he had been firſt ſtripped of the guardianſhip of the convent at la Plata, on account of his indiſcretions, and afterwards ſilenced, he was, through the recommendation of one of the principal magiſtrates of the country, named by his catholic majeſty to the biſhoprick of the Aſſumption. Don Bernardin had no ſooner received the news of his promotion, than he immediately began to take all, if not more liberties in the dioceſe of la Plata, than it entitled him to in his own. But it was not long before he gave the archbiſhop juſt reaſon to write him a letter civilly requeſting him

him to go and govern that, to which he had been named, in conformity to the king's brevet, till he ſhould receive his bulls, and be conſecrated; it being cuſtomary with the chapters of South America, as ſoon as they receive the king's brevet, to chuſe the perſon named in it to govern the dioceſe.

Don Bernardin, convinced that this requeſt was but a civil order, with which his metropolitan could ſoon find means to make him comply, immediately withdrew. But, as he did not chuſe to appear at the Aſſumption till he had been conſecrated, he repaired to Salta in the dioceſe of Tucuman, where, on the ſtrength of a letter, (the authenticity of which has never been proved, which, beſides, was dated about eighteen months before his being named to the biſhoprick of the Aſſumption,) from a cardinal at Rome, mentioning the expedition of his bulls, the jeſuits ſettled there gave him an opinion in writing, that he might be conſecrated, without having them to preſent. The jeſuits of the univerſity of Corduba, when wrote to for a confirmation of this opinion, flatly contradicted it. But Don Bernardin ſuppreſſed this letter; and, by producing the opinion of the jeſuits at Salta, prevailed on Don Melchior Maldonado, biſhop of Tucuman, to conſecrate him.

Some time after Don Bernardin embarked on the Paraguay for the Aſſumption. On entering his dioceſe, he diſcovered two barks with deputies on board, ſent to compliment him in the name of all the different orders of that capital, and preſent him with all manner of refreſhments. Theſe barks were followed by ſeveral others full of people of all ranks, impatient to ſee a biſhop, of whom they had heard ſuch wonders. At nightfall, he begged they might withdraw, and leave him to himſelf; but the deputies anſwered, that they could not leave him, being charged to have a ſtrict eye

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to the ſecurity of his perſon; but that they would take the greateſt care not to interrupt his reſt. Towards midnight, they were greatly ſurprized to find themſelves awakened by a long and ſevere diſcipline, which the prelate gave himſelf; and, as the ſame thing happened the following nights; and he every day pontifically celebrated the divine myſteries, the banks of the river and the adjacent country continually rang with the bleſſings given him by both Indians and Spaniards, ſeveral of whom poſted to the capital, to announce the arrival of a ſecond St. Thomas.

Don Bernardin landed four leagues from the city, and entered a farm houſe belonging to the jeſuits, who were aſſembled there to receive him, and were greatly ſurprized at the reception he gave them, conſidering, that he had expreſſed the greateſt indignation at their brethren of Corduba. But the prelate had his reaſons for behaving in this manner. Reſolved, as he was, to take poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick the minute he arrived at the Aſſumption, he was afraid of encreaſing the oppoſition he might meet; and judged, that the jeſuits, though they did not approve his proceedings, would have diſcretion enough not to blame them.

Don Bernardin no ſooner reached the Aſſumption, than, without waiting to be choſen by his chapter to exerciſe the epiſcopal functions, 'till his bulls ſhould arrive, he began to act the part of a biſhop in every reſpect. This determined, the moſt reſpectable part of it, both for number and authority, not only to oppoſe his exerciſing any juriſdiction, but even to ſeparate from him, in order to celebrate the divine myſteries in ſome other church. None of the regular clergy, except the jeſuits, had a church fit for their reception; and the ſeculars were afraid to give them any, leſt they might incur the diſpleaſure of their

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new biſhop. The jeſuits, therefore, lent them theirs; but not till they had good reaſon to think, that Don Bernardin would not be offended at it.

This irregularity in Don Bernardin was ſoon followed by ſeveral others; ſuch as taking the pariſhes, that became vacant, into his own hands, as well as the revenues of them, and ſaying maſs two or three times a day, on pretence that he had not prieſts enough to anſwer the neceſſities of his flock. But, his mortified life, his care to make his prieſts punctually celebrate maſs, and his aſſiduity to celebrate it himſelf pontifically, after aſſiſting on his knees at thoſe ſaid by his prieſts, joined to his daily exhortations, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people, as to make moſt of them overlook, what otherwiſe they could not fail to diſcover amiſs in his proceedings.

The perſon, whoſe eſteem Don Bernardin wiſhed moſt, in all appearance, to acquire, was the governor, Don Gregorio de Hiniſtroſa, whom, therefore, as well as his brother, father Hiniſtroſa, a friar, he received, when they came to the cathedral, with unuſual honours, which the governor often repaid with an ill-placed complaiſance, that the biſhop never failed to make his advantage of. Accordingly, it was not long, before Don Bernardin, taking it into his head that it was his duty to ſee executed a ſentence of demolition, paſſed ſome time before, by the royal audience of Charcas, on one of the convents of the city, for having been built without the king's leave, he brought the governor to aſſiſt him; though no complaint had been made of the inhabitants againſt the owners, who, beſides, there is great reaſon to think had obtained a reſpite of the ſentence, till the pleaſure of the Spaniſh court could be known on the occaſion.

Some time after this, Don Bernardin received the pope's bulls, and the king's brevets; and took care to read them himſelf to his flock; omitting however, ſome clauſes in the firſt, which deſtroyed their validity, in conſequence of the irregularities attending his conſecration. He then made a diſcourſe ſuitable to the occaſion, and concluded it by ſaying, that nobody, he hoped, would any longer doubt of his being inveſted with unlimited power, both ſpiritual and temporal.

The governor thought proper to diſſemble, for the preſent, the offence which it was impoſſible for theſe words not to give him. But he ſoon ſhewed, that he paid very little regard to them, by ſending to priſon one Moralez, an officer of the inquiſition, who had quarrelled with a civil officer; and even threatening, it is ſaid, to hang him. The biſhop, informed of every thing by his nephew, a friar of the order of St. Francis, on whom, though unworthy of them, by the ſecular, or rather diſſolute, life he led, he had heaped many favours, on account of his having brought him his bulls and brevets; and ſpirited up by his repreſenting to him the right of Moralez not to be proſecuted in any ſecular tribunal, immediately proceeded to the priſon, with the holy ſacrament in his hands, to demand the diſcharge of Moralez; and, on the gaoler's refuſing to comply, ordered a table to be brought out, and placed the veſſel, carrying the holy ſacrament, upon it.

The rector of the college, who happened to come by, while the biſhop and his attendants were waiting to ſee Moralez diſcharged, having exhauſted, to no purpoſe, all his rhetorick, at the impropriety of expoſing the ſacrament, and even the epiſcopal dignity, in ſuch a place, and on ſuch an occaſion; and thinking that the releaſe of Moralez would be the leaſt of the two evils, repaired to the gover-

governor, and prevailed upon him to conſent to it. Don Bernardin, not ſatisfied with this victory, thought proper to ſend to the governor for the money and papers ſeized at Moralez's houſe; and the governor was weak enough to return them, in ſpite of all the remonſtrances of his brother againſt it, who tho' an eccleſiaſtick, and even a friar, had too much good ſenſe and ſpirit, not to openly cenſure the indecency and illegality of the biſhop's proceedings. Don Bernardin then gave Moralez the tonſure and the minor orders, thinking thereby to keep him ſtill further out of the governor's reach. This adventure proved ample matter of joke to many, who could ſee, with indifference, the ſpiritual power ſo abuſed, and the civil ſo deſpiſed. It was, they ſaid, to be wiſhed, that the biſhop and the governor ſhould never agree, ſince their agreeing had produced the demolition of a church; and their diſagreeing, the enlargement of a priſoner.

WHATEVER the governor's motives might be, in thus tamely ſubmitting to the indignities offered him by the biſhop, he ſoon proved that it was not avarice. The biſhop, having expreſſed a liking for ſome plate of his, as fit for the church, the governor immediately ſent it to him, and ordered it to be preſented to him in the church, that the people might ſee that he retained no animoſity againſt him. In return, the biſhop, on receiving the preſent, ſpoke greatly in favour of the governor; but he had, it ſeems, his views in ſo doing: for the moment he had finiſhed his harangue to the people, he called to the governor's meſſengers, and told them, that all he now wanted was the baſon and ewers which he had ſeen at their maſter's. Don Gregorio, on hearing it, immediately ſent them, with aſſurances, that he had nothing to which Don Bernardin was not perfectly welcome.

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THIS was promiſing too much, to one of Don Bernardin's character; accordingly, Don Gregorio had ſoon reaſon to repent it. Theſe firſt demands of the biſhop were immediately followed by ſuch others, as the governor could not comply with, without betraying the rights of others, as he had before done his own; and his refuſal to comply, with ſuch indecent uſage, as the governor could not help returning, by reproaching the biſhop with his avarice, and the ſcandals he permitted in his houſe. The biſhop, pierced to the quick by ſuch unexpected accuſations, the more mortifying by being juſt, affected to conſider them as a calumny; and a few days after excommunicated the governor, who, thereupon, rather than give occaſion to any ſcandal, voluntarily abſented himſelf from a proceſſion, in which he was to carry the royal ſtandard.

GREAT as the governor's moderation muſt have been, to behave in this manner, it did not ſatisfy father Cardenas, the biſhop's nephew, who, therefore, inſulted him openly in the ſtreets. Though the governor made no return to theſe inſults, for the preſent, but by deſiring father Cardenas, not to tempt him any further; he did not forget them; and he accordingly came ſome days after, with an armed force, to ſeize him in his uncle's palace. But not only father Cardenas ſlipt out of his hands, but the biſhop excommunicated him again, with all the ſoldiers who accompanied him; and, at the ſame time, impoſed a fine of fifty crowns upon every one of them.

BUT, when the biſhop's anger cooled a little, he thought better of the matter, and ſent word to the governor, that he was very well diſpoſed to abſolve him. Though Don Gregorio made no great account of the firſt excommunication, the ſecond gave him ſome uneaſineſs; ſo that he was very

very glad that the biſhop ſhould thus, of himſelf, offer to abſolve him. He, therefore, immediately repaired to the epiſcopal palace, and threw himſelf on his knees, the moment he came into the biſhop's preſence. The biſhop, ſurprized and diſconcerted, did the ſame. The governor, then, called for the biſhop's hand, to kiſs it. The biſhop, in his turn, deſired to kiſs the governor's; and would have done it, if the rector of the college, who happened to be preſent, had not interpoſed. To ſee the governor, and the biſhop, placed oppoſite to each other, in this poſture, it would have been hard to gueſs, which was the judge, and which the culprit. At length, the biſhop abſolved the governor and his ſoldiers from the eccleſiaſtical cenſure, which they had incurred; but inſiſted on the latter's paying the fine of fifty crowns, impoſed upon them.

By this time, the biſhop had taken ſuch a liking to the ſpiritual arms of the church, which ought never to be uſed, but againſt ſpiritual tranſgreſſors guilty of ſcandal, and merely to deprive them of a participation in ſpiritual matters; that he employed them, indifferently, againſt all tranſgreſſors, and in all matters; ſo as to bring them, at laſt, into almoſt general contempt. He affected to conſider every one, who gave him any perſonal affront, as an enemy to the church; and every one who ſhewed him any perſonal reſpect, as her friend. The governor, on his ſide, betrayed great weakneſs in the exerciſe of his temporal authority; ſometimes carrying it farther than there was any occaſion for; and, at other times, ſhewing equal remiſſneſs in the exerciſe of it. But, though the biſhop was much more to blame than the governor, the great ſhew of piety which he ſtill made, accompanied by a great flow of eloquence, intermixed with tears and ſighs, and the affectation of

ſome extraordinary gifts, ſo captivated the generality of his dioceſe, that he was permitted to go the moſt unuſual lengths; excommunicating the governor again and again, and the other officers moſt neceſſary to the due adminiſtration of civil juſtice; and taxing their abſolution at moſt extraordinary ſums, in matters not within his juriſdiction; or, if they were, for offences ſo ſlight in themſelves, or committed in conſequence of ſuch provocation, as by no means to deſerve any extraordinary animadverſion. At length, he repeatedly interdicted ſeveral convents, and even almoſt all the churches and prieſts of the capital, from a ſpirit of reſentment againſt a few individuals.

As the governor had but too juſt reaſon to conclude, that father de Cardenas, beſides his having inſulted the royal authority, in the perſon of the king's repreſentative, and diſturbed the public peace by his converſation and libels, was the chief promoter of all his uncle's violences, he, even without conſulting his brother, took him one night, by force, out of the Franciſcan convent, the guardian of which had refuſed to give him up by fair means, on pretence of his being of the biſhop's houſhold, as the biſhop had done before, on pretence of his belonging to the convent; ordered him to be left, bound hand and foot, on an eminence in the neighbourhood, on the banks of the river; and, when he had remained there for two days, in that condition, without any nouriſhment, or any bed to lie on, but the bare earth, and expoſed to all the injuries of the weather, and ſtings of every kind of inſect, ſent him to Corrientes, on board an Indian bark, wrapped up in a woman's cap and cloak, and with a very ſmall quantity of biſcuit and ſalt meat to ſubſiſt on, during the voyage. On the other hand, the biſhop, ſuſpecting father Hiniſtroſa to be the chief promoter

moter of this violence of his brother, and the ſpirit of reſiſtence he now began to ſhew, baniſhed him the dioceſe.

In the mean time, all was confuſion in the capital. The governor and the biſhop no longer kept any meaſures with each other; and all the inhabitants ſided with one or the other, according as their views or intereſts directed them. Don Gregorio aimed at nothing leſs than making himſelf maſter of the biſhop's perſon, who, on his ſide, did all that lay in his power to ſeize that of the governor, when he thought he had ſufficiently inflamed his flock againſt him; and nothing was now to be heard, in every quarter of the city, but the confuſed and alarming noiſe of bells, drums, and trumpets.

The jeſuits were amongſt thoſe, who alternately experienced Don Bernardin's good or ill will; and that, very often, in one and the ſame day, both from the pulpit, and in private converſation. In his firſt letters to the king, he repreſented them as the only eccleſiaſticks duly qualified for the arduous taſk of civilizing, and converting the Indians. But he, at length, ſo entirely changed his note, that he inveighed againſt them, as perſons guilty of high treaſon, by depriving the crown of ſo many vaſſals; and even rapine, by robbing the ſubjects of ſo many ſervants; though he could not but know, that their ſtrenuous defence of the Indians, from the drudgery of perſonal ſervice, was what had moſt contributed to their ſucceſs in reducing them.

1643. Don Bernardin, at laſt, tired with that confuſion, of which he had been the ſole author, and not having diſcretion or reſolution enough to put an end to it, by abſolving the objects of his anger and avarice from the heavy excommunications and fines he had impoſed upon

them, thought the beſt thing he could do, was to leave them all to themſelves. He therefore embarked on the Paraguay, on Whitſun-eve, leaving with his vicar a written order, for the interdiction of divine ſervice, in all places where the governor might happen to be. But the chapter, out of reſpect to ſo great a ſolemnity, hindered the vicar from publiſhing it, till the Monday following; when the names of the governor and ſeveral others were found ſtuck up on the excommunication table without any cauſe being aſſigned for excommunicating them. Many perſons conſidered ſo irregular an act, as null and void in itſelf; ſo that ſome churches were kept conſtantly open, and others conſtantly ſhut. The governor, in particular, alledged, that, in virtue of his office, he could not be conſidered as a perſon exteriorly excommunicated, and that he ought to be abſolved. The jeſuits, being obliged to ſpeak on the occaſion, gave it as their opinion, that, as he had no war on his hands, he ſhould, however, to avoid giving ſcandal, conſider himſelf as ſuch, till abſolved by the biſhop himſelf. But the friars of two other convents deciding, that the vicar-general ought to abſolve him, Don Gregorio went, for that purpoſe, at the head of his garriſon, to the vicar's houſe, and, on his refuſing to do it, ordered the doors and windows to be nailed up; and then ſent him word, that, till he did, no one ſhould be permitted to go in or out. But the vicar-general holding out notwithſtanding, the governor, tired with waiting, diſmiſſed his troops, and retired.

On his return home, he cauſed depoſitions to be taken of all the diſorders committed or occaſioned by Don Bernardin, ſince his arrival in his dioceſe; and ſent them to the royal audience of Charcas. Don Bernardin, on the news of it, ſent ſome memorials to the ſame tribunal, in which he charged

charged the governor, upon oath, with the moſt odious crimes. This, however, proved a fortunate ſtep for both the governor and the inhabitants in general, as it furniſhed father Truxillo, a Franciſcan, whom the biſhop had appointed his vicegerent and vicar-general, with full power to take off the interdict and abſolve of all cenſures, a juſt motive for reſtoring tranquility. For, finding, that both interdict and excommunications were ſo ill grounded, he took them all off, in conſideration of the affair being removed, both as civil and criminal, before the ſuperior tribunals; and the parties excommunicated binding themſelves in body and goods, to ſubmit to the ſentence of ſuch ſuperior courts. This ſtep of father Truxillo's was productive of what ſome deemed a ſtill happier conſequence: it produced in Don Bernardin ſo violent a hurry to get back to the Aſſumption, that, though he had taken into his head to viſit the reductions under the jeſuits, which might have poſſibly been ruined, even by his zeal to forward them; and one of their paſtors was come to conduct him, with a party of Indians, and every thing requiſite to make his viſit ſafe and agreeable to him; he juſt gave himſelf time to paſs through one of them.

But great as his hurry was, he thought proper to ſtop ſhort at Yaguaron, a large Indian town eight leagues from the Aſſumption; and, to avoid being interrupted there, iſſued a ſtrong order, forbidding all perſons, except the regular clergy, to come there without his leave, under pain of excommunication, and a fine of fifty crowns. Having afterwards invited, in the moſt friendly manner, Don Diego Pontius de Leon, treaſurer of his chapter; and Don Ferdinand Sanchez, another of his canons; to come and ſee him; inſtead of giving them the reception they expected, he abuſed them as traitors to

their biſhop and the church; and then, without permitting them to utter a ſingle ſyllable, ordered them to be ſhut up ſeparately in different rooms, where they continued, in ſpite of all the ſuperiors of the ſeveral convents of the Aſſumption could do, for the ſpace of forty days, when they had the good fortune to make their eſcape; the treaſurer, to Corrientes; the canon, to the Aſſumption, where he took refuge in the houſe of the governor, who gave him a very friendly reception.

Now, at length, Don Gregorio, theſe two eccleſiaſticks, and all others who wiſhed well to the governor, or ill to the biſhop, began to deliberate on the propriety of withdrawing from the juriſdiction of a prelate, who, according to the opinion of the vice-provincials of the franciſcans and dominicans, ſtrongly ſupported by the canons arguments, never had any; and ſoon reſolved upon doing it. But, unfortunately for the peace of the province, the biſhop happening to get intelligence of it, publiſhed an ordinance, declaring null and void all the abſolutions given by father Truxillo. Soon after, he publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication againſt the treaſurer and canon; an inhibition to treat with or even ſpeak to the governor; and, at length, laid the whole city under an interdict, Chriſtmas day and that of the Circumciſion, in the church of the college, only excepted. At the ſame time, he thought proper to add to theſe diſorders by exempting, of his own authority, ſeveral Indians bound to perſonal ſervice; particularly all thoſe belonging to the perſons he had excommunicated.

The governor, deeply affected at ſo many diſorders, and unable to remedy them, the fear people had conceived of the biſhop having almoſt entirely annihilated his authority, at laſt reſolved to be reconciled to him, and repaired for that purpoſe to Yaguaron, attended only by his ſecretary and a

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few officers. On his arrival, he could not find a houſe willing to receive him, nor did any one offer to do him the leaſt ſervice; all avoiding him as an excommunicated perſon. However, as he ſincerely deſired to be abſolved, he reſolved to drink the cup to the very lees; and Don Bernardin, on his ſide, took not the leaſt pains to leſſen the bitterneſs of it. Not content with ſeeing Don Gregorio at his feet, he gave him only a conditional abſolution, nor even that, untill he had bound himſelf by oath and in writing, to pay a fine laid on him of four thouſand arobes of the herb of Paraguay. He even thought proper that all the inhabitants ſhould be witneſſes to their governor's humiliation; and, before he abſolved him, reprimanded him with as little ceremony as he would have done a man of the loweſt rank, convicted of the moſt enormous tranſgreſſions.

The governor's example was followed by a great number of other excommunicated perſons, who repaired to Yaguaron in a body, thinking they might, thereby, make the greater impreſſion on the biſhop; but they had no better ſucceſs. After taxing them with the hardneſs of their hearts, and terrifying many of them by the relation of ſome viſions, in which he pretended that not only all the powers he had aſſumed, had been ratified and enlarged, but the uſe he had made of them approved; and inſiſting that all nature was in his power to deſtroy the enemies of the church, he abſolved them on their binding themſelves, by oath and in writing, to pay fines, which not one of them was able to pay. Another excommunicated perſon, even one of thoſe who had a hand in the carrying off of father de Cardenas, ſucceeded better by the following ſtratagem. He repaired to Yaguaron in the habit of a penitent with a ſcourge in his hand; and, as ſoon as he came within ſight of the biſhop, who then happened to be in the

church, laid the ſtrokes on his ſhoulders ſo heavily, crying out all the while, "mercy, mercy," that the biſhop took him up, embraced him, loaded him with praiſes and favours, and diſmiſſed him without any condition.

On the Maundy Thurſday following, the eccleſiaſtical judges took it into their heads to open an office in the choir to receive I know not what church dues; and told all thoſe who preſented themſelves to pay them, that, if they had communicated with excommunicated perſons, they had themſelves incurred the ſame cenſures, and could not be abſolved from them, till they ſhould bind themſelves, by oath and in writing, to ſubmit to the conditions that might be impoſed on them. Moſt of them ſigned rather than be deprived of the ſacraments at ſo holy a ſeaſon. Two, who, without making any ſubmiſſion, had ſtept in the croud, one to the tribunal of confeſſion, and the other to the Lord's table, were, on diſcovery, thruſt out. The news of theſe abominable proceedings greatly exaſperated the camp maſter general, Don Sebaſtian de Leon, who, having been excommunicated by the biſhop, choſe to continue ſo, rather than ſubmit to be the victim of his avarice, or rather that of thoſe about him, and the tool of his vengeance againſt the governor. He, therefore, repaired to the cathedral; and, after reproaching the judges with their ſelling their maſter, like Judas, threatened, if they did not immediately deſiſt from their ſimoniacal dealings, to drive them with his belt out of the houſe of God, which they thus profaned, not by ſelling beaſts and birds for the ſacrifice, but the ſacrifice itſelf.

This military reprimand ſucceeded ſo well, that all thoſe, who had not as yet complied with the conditions required of them, were admitted to the ſacraments without it; and thoſe who had, but were unable to pay the tax impoſed on them, had it reduced

duced to one fifth by the licentiate, Don Francis Chaparro; who, afterwards, on the biſhop's diſcovering what he had done, and fining him thirty thouſand pounds of the herb of Paraguay, aſſembled all thoſe from whom he had taken any obligations, tore the obligations to pieces; declaring to the perſons who had given them, that they no longer owed any thing.

These diſorders were followed by ſtill greater; the biſhop taking upon him to levy, by force, the fines impoſed by him, ſo as to fill the whole province with terror and confuſion, eſpecially as the Indians given in command were treated as private property, and wreſted from their encommenderoes, not to be ſet at liberty, but to paſs over to the ſervice of the biſhop, his officers and confidants. In a word, he aſſumed to himſelf the exerciſe of all royal as well as epiſcopal juriſdiction; the governor, for a long time not intervening further, than to reſcue out of his hands ſome Indians, whom their encommenderoes had forfeited, and a large quantity of the herb of Paraguay.

This vigorous ſtep of the governor proved the cauſe of another rupture between him and the biſhop, who immediately ſummoned the governor to the payment of his fine of Paraguay, (though he had already paid it to the perſon commiſſioned by the biſhop to receive it) becauſe it had never reached his hands, having periſhed on the way, part of it by being put on board a leaky boat, and the reſt ſome other way. Beſides, Don Gregorio inſiſted that he had no more to give. Upon this, notwithſtanding, Don Bernardin declared the governor relapſed into his former excommunication; thundered out a new one againſt him, for new exceſſes againſt the church; and forbid all manner of perſons to communicate with him, render him any ſervice, or obey him under the ſame penalties, and that of being

being baniſhed the province. Theſe freſh exceſſes againſt the governor were followed by new interdicts againſt the ſeveral religious orders, and freſh outrages againſt the jeſuits in particular; ſo that in a ſhort time it became dangerous to adminiſter any ſpiritual aſſiſtance to the ſick, though the town was afflicted with a contagious diſeaſe, or even bury the dead in conſecrated ground; the biſhop refuſing to take off his cenſures in ſpite of all the repreſentations made to him by the moſt reſpectable perſons. In the midſt of this diſtreſs, three hundred Guaycurus appeared in ſight of the capital, to the great terror of the inhabitants, who ſaw the hands of their governor and his officers tied up by the raſh decree of the prelate, to whom, therefore, new repreſentations were made by the chapter in a body; the inhabitants not chuſing that the governor, however willing, ſhould leave them for that purpoſe. But the biſhop would pay no regard to the chapter's interpoſition. At length, however, he conſented to take off the interdict, and ſuſpend the governor's excommunication for fifteen days, on his giving freſh ſecurity, at the interceſſion of a *Devota*; and in the mean time the Guaycurus diſappeared; but the war broke out again between the biſhop and the governor with redoubled violence and fury.

1764. Don Gregorio had juſt received a letter from the marquis de la Mancera, viceroy of Peru, with orders not to tolerate any longer the oppreſſion under which the inhabitants of his province were groaning, nor the contempt of his own authority; to reeſtabliſh every thing on the footing preſcribed by the laws and ordinances; and oblige the biſhop to confine himſelf within the bounds of his juriſdiction, which was merely ſpiritual. The governor, on the peruſal of this letter, felt a return of all his former courage, and reſolved to exert for the future all his rights; but he did not

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ſufficiently know himſelf; at the ſame time that he had to deal with a man, to whom he had but too well made himſelf known.

The governor began by taking a general review of his troops; and then, in obedience to the viceroy, ordered all the Portugueze eſtabliſhed at the Aſſumption to ſet out for Santafé; gave notice to the Indians in the neighbourhood of the capital, that he intended to viſit them; and deſired they might hold themſelves in readineſs to execute the orders of his majeſty with which he was entruſted. Don Bernardin, conſidering himſelf as the object of them, immediately ſent to the Aſſumption orders to declare that the governor ſhould be ſtill conſidered as an excommunicated perſon, the fifteen days, during which his excommunication had been ſuſpended, being elapſed; and to forbid all the inhabitants of the country, whether Spaniards or Indians, to join him on pain of incurring the heavieſt cenſures he could lay on them.

Don Gregorio, on his ſide, gave out that he was to execute a very important commiſſion for the ſervice of the king; and applied in his majeſty's name to have his cenſures taken off; but all the anſwer he could obtain, was, that the biſhop alone could grant his requeſt, upon which he immediately ſet out for Yaguaron. On his arrival at Ita, he met the licentiate Don Pedro Navarro, who ſerved him with an order in writing not to proceed any further, on pain of a major excommunication, and a heavy fine, for him and all thoſe who ſhould follow him. Don Gregorio refuſed to liſten to this act, on pretence that it ſhould be ſerved by a notary, upon which the licentiate laid the town under an interdict. Don Gregorio, on his arrival at Yaguaron, went ſtrait to the church with all his retinue; and the ſight of him ſtruck ſo much terror into Don Bernardin, that he thought proper to abſolve

ſolve him. He then embraced him; celebrated high maſs; preached atcording to cuſtom after the goſpel; loaded Don Gregorio with praiſes; and invited him to dinner, during which not a word was ſaid of their paſt diſſentions. Dinner being over, the governor requeſted the biſhop to ſuſpend the interdict of the capital, at leaſt till after the feaſt of the Aſſumption, by which it was called; and the biſhop very graciouſly complied; ſo that this reconciliation had all the air of being a very perfect and ſincere one.

At the ſame time, father Lopez, the provincial of the Dominicans, obtained leave to rebuild the convent of his order at the Aſſumption, which the biſhop had demoliſhed; and on his arrival at the Aſſumption, where, by the biſhop's orders, he was received with great honours, immediately ſet about it. This favour to the Dominicans was attended with marks of the ſtrongeſt diſlike to the jeſuits, whoſe grammar and other ſchools he ſoon after commanded to be ſhut up.

Some days after he iſſued an ordinance depriving all the regular prieſts of the power of preaching and abſolving; but he ſoon reſtored it to them all, except the jeſuits. The rector, upon this, immediately waited on the grand vicar, to beg of him to order all the prieſts of his houſe to be examined; and, if he judged them capable, to give them the ſame powers he had done to others. The grand vicar anſwered that he would write about it to the biſhop; and he did ſo, accordingly. The biſhop anſwered that he did not in the leaſt doubt of the capacity of the jeſuits, but that it imported the ſervice of God not to permit them to adminiſter the ſacraments, or preach. He could not, however, be very eaſy in regard to this inhibition, as he had obſerved no formality in iſſuing it; and could not

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doubt of the complaint, made againſt him to the royal audience of Charcas, having made great impreſſion on the members of it.

For theſe and many other reaſons, he thought it behoved him to make the governor approve of his deſigns againſt the jeſuits, or at leaſt engage him not to oppoſe them. For this purpoſe, he had ſeveral conferences with him, in which he did all that lay in his power to perſuade him, that the good intelligence, which reigned between them for ſome time after his arrival in his dioceſe, would never have been interrupted, had it not been for a ſet of men, who regulated all their actions by the maxims of a moſt dangerous policy; that they had, in particular, improved the carrying off of father Cardenas, to exaſperate him; adding, that he now plainly ſaw they had hurried him to great lengths; and that he was deſirous of making reparation for any exceſs committed againſt him; that he was ſtill the more diſpoſed to it, by what he had heard of his family from the provincial of the Dominicans, who had told him, among other things, that he had a daughter in Chili, whoſe fortune was neither anſwerable to her family nor her merit; that he would be glad to contribute to eſtabliſh her in a ſuitable manner; and that he, therefore, forgave him the four thouſand crowns he ſtill owed for the abſolution from the cenſures he had incurred; that he would render a favourable ſentence in regard to the outrage he had offered his nephew, by expoſing properly the exceſſes committed by that religious againſt his perſon. To theſe he added ſeveral other promiſes, and concluded by aſſuring him, that he would always have his intereſt at heart, where it did not claſh with the rights of the church, for which he was reſolved to ſacrifice every thing, even his life, as every good biſhop ought to do.

A FEW days after, Don Gregorio received a viſit from the provincial of the Dominicans, who began by ſpeaking to him in a manner to let him ſee, what chiefly engaged Don Bernardin to wiſh to be reconciled with him. This father opened his diſcourſe by a long harangue on the intereſt of a governor to remain inſeparably united with his biſhop. He told him, that both religion and prudence required he ſhould forget all that was paſt, that it was always troubleſome, and often dangerous, to have recourſe to the ſuperior tribunals; that it generally proved detrimental to a man's character and reputation; that there occurred ſeveral things, which a prudent man ſhould not ſeem to take notice of; that, even in caſes where a biſhop ſhould attempt to encroach on the ſecular juriſdiction, it was more ſecure and decent to make up matters in an amicable manner, than to proceed to open violence; and that by the letter he had received from the viceroy, this appeared likewiſe to be his excellency's opinion; in a word, that it would be worth his while to yield ſomething to live upon good terms with a biſhop like Don Bernardin de Cardenas.

DON Gregorio has ſince affirmed, that father Lopez, after ſpeaking to him in this manner, aſſured him that the prelate was determined to drive the jeſuits out of the Aſſumption, and out of all the miſſions of the province of Parana, that happened to be within his dioceſe; and that he made no doubt of ſeeing his conduct in regard to them approved by the pope and his catholic majeſty; that he adviſed him not to intermeddle in this affair, as Don Bernardin was either the holieſt biſhop of God's church, or the wickedeſt man on the face of the earth; and that, which ever he was, he could only be a loſer by quarrelling with him; that he, the governor, had anſwered, that he had taken

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a reſolution to diſſemble every thing that did not affect his honour or conſcience; but that he would, at the riſk of his fortune, oppoſe the expulſion of the jeſuits, or any other religious order from the province, with the government of which the king his maſter had entruſted him, without expreſs orders in writing from his majeſty.

Father Lopez no ſooner received this anſwer, than, ſeeing no longer any appearance of being able to reconcile the biſhop and the governor, he made what haſte he could to finiſh the affairs that brought him into Paraguay, in order to leave a province, which muſt, he foreſaw, become the ſcene of the moſt horrid confuſion; and he accordingly ſet out ſoon after. The prelate, however, had not, as yet, loſt all hopes of being able to ſtagger the governor's reſolution; and, therefore, did all that lay in his power to perſuade him, that he was the ſincereſt of his friends. Don Gregorio ſaw very well that theſe offers of the biſhop were very far from being diſintereſted, and received a further proof of it from father Lopé Hinoſtroſa his ſon, of the order of St. Auguſtin, lately returned from Yaguaron, where, on his arrival from Chili, he went to pay his reſpects to the biſhop.

Father Lopé informed his father, that he had been received by the biſhop with the greateſt honours, and ſaluted by the ſound of hautboys; that the prelate had loaded him with praiſes, and marks of the moſt cordial friendſhip; that he had named him examiner of the candidates for holy orders, with a promiſe to receive whoever ſhould bring him a note under his hand; that he had often, and with great openneſs, entertained him with complaints againſt the jeſuits; that, among other things, he accuſed them of abuſing both the pope and the king; that, in quality of paſtor of

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the dioceſe, and counſellor to his majeſty, he conſidered himſelf as bound in duty to perſecute them without mercy, though he were to loſe his life by it; that he had requeſted him to prevail on his father to abſent himſelf for ſome time, under ſome pretext or another, if he did not think proper to act in concert with him; in fine, that he had promiſed him a thouſand livres to buy books, in caſe he ſucceeded in this negociation.

To this diſcourſe of his ſon, and thoſe of every other perſon, who ſpoke to him in the ſame ſtrain, the governor made no other anſwer, than by vague proteſtations of his devotion to the perſon of Don Bernardin. He then cauſed the jeſuits to be informed of the ſtorm that was gathering againſt them; but without letting them know what aſſiſtance they might expect from him. He even gave them reaſon to think that he waited to take his reſolution, till the circumſtances ſhould oblige him to declare himſelf. In fact, he played his part ſo well, that the biſhop was ſo far deceived as to think he might proceed without meeting any oppoſition from him. However, he reſolved to advance inch by inch; convinced that, by always gaining a little ground, he ſhould, at laſt, carry his point, provided he made no halt. The following was the firſt ſtep he took.

The biſhop propoſed the jeſuits to yield him a farm of theirs, for what it had coſt them; and then, without waiting for their anſwer, ſent them word, that they were rich enough to make him a preſent of it; adding, that, as he thought there was no relying upon their generoſity, he gave them notice, that this eſtate belonged to the Indians of Yaguaron, and ordered them to evacuate it in eight days; if they did not chuſe, that he ſhould cauſe it to be ſeized; and abandon to thoſe charged with the execution of his orders, all the moveables they could

could find on it, as a reward for their trouble. This letter was preſented to the rector of the college by one of the biſhop's officers, who, without giving him time to read it, told him it contained a definitive ſentence; that, as they could make no appeal from it but to the Pope, of whom the biſhop was delegate, it would be to no purpoſe to make any; and that, beſides, Don Bernardin would not give them time to do it.

Don Bernardin, at the ſame time, cauſed notice to be given to all thoſe who were preparing to receive holy orders, to repair to Yaguaron; and, as they preſented themſelves before him, made them take an oath to be faithful to him, even to the effuſion of their blood, if it ſhould be found requiſite. Several perſons were invited to this ordination, which was celebrated with great pomp and ſolemnity. The prelate, beſides, had taken care, by the choice of thoſe he admitted to holy orders, to intereſt in his favour the principal families of the capital, whom he imagined he might thereby attach to himſelf in ſuch a manner, as to make them ſide with him, the jeſuits; eſpecially as he had already weakened their intereſt with all ranks, by ſhutting up their ſchools, and forbiding them the exerciſe of their ordinary functions.

He, likewiſe, built greatly on the air and ſtrain of an inſpired man, which had ſucceeded ſo well with him in the beginning, and ſtill made ſome impreſſion on the people. One day, as he was preaching at Yaguaron, and enveighing againſt the jeſuits, with all his uſual vehemence; happening to ſpy amongſt the audience father Peter Romero; he turned towards the tabernacle; and, addreſſing himſelf to the miſſionary who ſtood at the end of the church, "You muſt excuſe me, father, ſaid he, for ſpeaking in this manner; it is the Lord, who reſides here, and whom I am juſt going to re-

ceive, that has put theſe things into my mouth I had not even the leaſt thought of them when I got into the pulpit; but could not reſiſt the Holy Ghoſt, which ſeized me." He ſpoke in pretty much the ſame terms, on the day of the ordination, to two other jeſuits ſent by father Sobrino to repreſent to him, that neither himſelf nor any of his religious, could reproach themſelves with having ever done any thing to deſerve his indignation. After ſpeaking to them in the harſheſt terms; laying his hand upon his breaſt, and raiſing his eyes towards heaven, he added, that motives ſuperior to every human conſideration were the ſole rule of his behaviour to them. He diſmiſſed them with theſe words; and then coolly reſumed the converſation, which their viſit had interrupted.

Some moments after he ſuddenly changed the diſcourſe; and, as if overwhelmed with the deepeſt ſorrow, he ſaid, ſighing, that, in quality of biſhop, it was his buſineſs to defend the rights of the church, and proſecute, without mercy, whoever dared to make the leaſt attempt on her rights and patrimony; that, having the honour to be counſellor to his majeſty, he was bound in duty to clear the province of thoſe, who made themſelves maſters of the king's domain, to ſend the riches ariſing from it, into foreign countries, and even into the ſtates of powers at war with his majeſty; that, as paſtor of the dioceſe, it was his indiſpenſable duty to his flock to guard them from the ſnares, which the infernal ſpirit laid for them, by means of ſelf intereſted miniſters, who, under a veil of piety, and of zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls, ſtript them of their temporal ſubſtance.

After this preamble, which kept the minds of all the company in ſuſpenſe, he ſaid, that, as a man, ſubject like all other men to be deceived, he had for a long time ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by

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the falſe relations diſperſed by them; but that, as he was now better informed, and even enlightened from above, he ſhould be abſolutely inexcuſable before God and man, if he did not lay open in what manner they had made themſelves maſters of ſo many Indians, to the prejudice of the royal patrimony, and the patronage of the church; that theſe falſe apoſtles taught their Neophytes abominable doctrines; that, having charitably advertiſed them of it, they had diſregarded his remonſtrances; that they ſpread among the people pernicious opinions; that they cried down the cenſures of the church, and reduced to nothing the authority of the holy ſee; that they perſecuted the biſhops, and rendered their lives unhappy; that he had informed his majeſty of their daily introducing new paſtors into their reductions, without the approbation of their eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors, and without applying for the *viſa* to the biſhops; that they diſſuaded the Indians from paying any tribute to the king, or tithes to the biſhops; that they had very rich mines of gold, whoſe produce they ſent wherever they pleaſed; that they aimed at nothing leſs than uſurping all power both ſpiritual and temporal; that he had ſhut up their ſchools, becauſe they taught their ſcholars nothing, with a view of engroſſing to themſelves all the pariſhes, when there ſhould be no ſecular prieſts left to officiate in them; and that, for the ſame reaſon, they refuſed to approve the candidates for holy orders when appointed to examine them; that he himſelf had entruſted them for a time with ſome pariſhes, but that he had done it merely on their repeated application; and for want of knowing them better; that he had forbid them to adminiſter the ſacraments, as he had heard they were not over ſcrupulous in regard to the ſecret of confeſſion, and made a handle of it to know the moſt private tranſactions of families,

in order to improve them to their own advantage; that father de Montoya had ſurreptitiouſly obtained a royal cedule, by virtue of which his brethren had robbed the Spaniards of whole nations, which belonged to them by right of conqueſt; that they brought nothing with them into Paraguay, but the clothes on their backs; yet had acquired the ſovereignty of one of its largeſt diſtricts; that he was firmly reſolved to drive them out of his dioceſe, as the Venetians had done, and the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue; that the biſhop of Tucuman and ſeveral others had received the ſame power, but were afraid to exert it; but that, for his part, he wanted neither power nor courage to give them the example; "and I reckon, ſaid he, making an end of his harangue, that you will ſoon acknowledge yourſelves obliged to me for being ſerved by Indians, and for ſeeing your children provided with good pariſhes; the king put in poſſeſſion of his rights; and the church reeſtabliſhed in the enjoyment of her rights and patrimony." This fine harangue contained almoſt as many abſurdities and falſhoods as words. The reductions were not as yet erected into pariſhes, in which caſe alone there could be any neceſſity for applying to the biſhops for their *viſa*. The royal tribute was not regulated till the year 1649. The cuſtom of paying tithes to the eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors was not as yet any where eſtabliſhed. It was notorious, that the jeſuits did all that lay in their power to be excuſed from the charge of pariſhes. The immunity from all perſonal ſervice granted to their Indians was not ſurreptitiouſly obtained, and has ſince been ſeveral times confirmed. Beſides, it was not father Montoya who ſolicited it. The Venetians had not expelled the jeſuits; theſe fathers had retired of their own accord. And ſurely, it ill became

came a biſhop to imitate the example of the Portugueze of St. Paul of Piratiningue.

As to the laſt article of Don Bernardin's accuſation, though he often repeated it, it made little impreſſion on the publick, as no body could gueſs what he meant by it. Moreover, no one ever imagined that the jeſuits revealed the ſecret of confeſſion. And the pretended gold mines had not as yet obtained any credit. But the prelate knew, that the hopes of having in command all the Indians of the Parana, was enough to induce ſeveral perſons to favour his enterprize; and he added all the reſt merely to perſuade his audience that thoſe who oppoſed his deſigns were no better than traitors to both church and ſtate. Theſe things he continually repeated both in publick from the pulpit, and in private diſcourſe with ſuch, as he thought it moſt imported him to make ſure of. He even ſhewed them the informations of his viſitors, and the writings of ſome jeſuits, whoſe hands had been counterfeited; accompanying theſe marks of confidence with careſſes and offers of ſervice; ſpiriting up the fearful by telling them that he acted merely by the king's orders; and he, at laſt, wrought upon ſo many perſons, that people were every where in the utmoſt impatience to ſee the execution of a project, from which they flattered themſelves with the thoughts of deriving ſuch conſiderable advantages. But, juſt as he began to look upon himſelf as ſure of ſucceſs, he received news ſufficient to convince him, that he would meet with difficulties, which he had never before dreamed of.

He had deferred, it ſeems, ſeizing on the farm of St. Iſidore, thinking, perhaps, that the jeſuits, intimidated by his menaces, would yield it up to him of themſelves, in hopes of recovering his good graces, or hindering him to proceed any further

lengths againſt them. He was, therefore, greatly ſurprized on hearing, that the governor, at father Sobrino's requeſt, had ſent there an alcalde of the holy Hermandad, with ten armed men, to defend it. Upon this, he ſent there an eccleſiaſtick with two clerks and an Indian. The buſineſs of the eccleſiaſtick and the two clerks was to ſerve an excommunication, in writing, upon the alcalde and his men, if they did not immediately retire; and that of the Indian, to claim the farm; which he accordingly did. The alcalde told the Indian, that, if his cacique or his corregidor had any claims to the farm, they ſhould proſecute them in a legal way; and that, if he or any one elſe dared to commit the leaſt diſorder, they ſhould immediately pay for it. Afterwards, turning to the eccleſiaſtick, who was preparing to read his ſentence of excommunication, he told him, that it was to the governor, by whoſe orders he acted, he ſhould carry the biſhop's ordinance; and obliged him to withdraw.

This reſiſtance put the biſhop quite beſide himſelf; but father Neito, an apoſtate monk, who had ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the biſhop's good graces, as to obtain a good benefice, and ſeveral other favours, and even the honour of being his confeſſor and principal counſellor, ſoon brought him to himſelf again. He told him, that, in time of war, writings ſignified nothing; that the governor would be in no ſuch haſte to put his threats in execution; that, if he dared to reſiſt his biſhop in perſon, two good cuffs, which he took upon himſelf to give him as to an enemy of the church, would bring him to reaſon again; that the people were very well diſpoſed; the jeſuits hated; his moſt illuſtrious lordſhip adored; and that it was his opinion, that his lordſhip ſhould not loſe a ſingle moment to avail himſelf of ſuch a favourable conjuncture; but, invoking St. Jago, ſet out directly

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to drive the jeſuits out of their college; that it would be improper to ſtay at the farm, which theſe fathers could not carry away with them; that they were ſchiſmaticks, and even hereticks, of whom he could not make too great haſte to purge the province; but that the ſhorteſt and ſureſt courſe would be to ſtrike at the body of the tree, without loſing time to lop off the branches.

This diſcourſe, ſo ſuitable to an apoſtate, but ſo unworthy of the confeſſor of a biſhop, revived the drooping ſpirits of the prelate, who appointed St. Francis's day for the execution of his project, and cauſed it to be publiſhed, (though probably in general terms, yet accompanied) by the ſound of bells at Yaguaron, as if the holy land was to be reſcued out of the hands of the Muſſulmen. He then ſent to the Aſſumption to prepare, privately, ſome floats to put the jeſuits on, with a proviſion of biſcuit and ſalt meat; ordered the convents of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and the Merci, to ſend friars to govern the reductions of the Parana, till he could find ſecular prieſts enough to place there as curates. He then drew up a complaint, in the name of the people, againſt the jeſuits, importing, that they oppoſed the giving of their Indians in command to the Spaniards, who, he ſaid, had reduced them by force of arms; which was a falſehood; concluding with a requeſt, that theſe religious ſhould be expelled the province.

Though the jeſuits little imagined, that the danger was ſo inſtant, they thought it high time to take ſome meaſures in order to prevent a ſurprize; and had recourſe, for this purpoſe, to the royal audience of Charcas. This was going a great way to ſeek a remedy for an evil ſo near at hand. But could it be imagined, that a biſhop ſhould form ſuch a project, and be able to carry it into execution, in ſpite of the governor? In the mean time,

Don Bernardin having received notice, that ſome Indians of the reductions on the Parana had juſt paſt through Yaguaron, in their way to the Itatines, he immediately ſent after them; and his meſſengers took from them all the letters they had to deliver father Sobrino in their paſſage through the Aſſumption, and ſome muſkets which ſome officers had given them to defend themſelves, in caſe they ſhould meet with an enemy; as likewiſe ſome inſtruments of muſick. The Neophytes of the reductions ſeldom go any where without them, either to amuſe themſelves on the road, or to entertain the miſſionaries they are conducting to their towns: or, in fine, to accompany their ſongs and canticles.

Father Sobrino, who ſoon heard of this violence, but did not know it had been committed by the orders of the biſhop, wrote to him to beg he might cauſe to be reſtored to theſe Indians, the things they had been plundered of. But all the anſwer the prelate made his letter was to ſend him copies of the intercepted letters; and reproach him bitterly with the jeſuits permitting their Indians to carry fire arms. Don Bernardin had ſo much the more reaſon for not complying with father Sobrino's requeſt, as he had not himſelf fire arms enough for all thoſe whom he intended to employ in his expedition; and thought the inſtruments of muſick might be very uſeful to animate his troops, in caſe they ſhould be obliged to come to blows. At length, when all his military preparations were finiſhed, the Indians of the neighbourhood ready to march, and the petitions of the Aſſumptioniſts preſented and received in due form, the biſhop drew up the plan of an ordinance, or rather the preamble of one, as he did not think proper to diſcover the whole of his deſign, till it was executed; and ſent this his production

duction to the capital, to be publiſhed there, when he ſhould have put the laſt hand to it. Here it is, ſuch as it then was, and has ever ſince remained:

"Don Bernardin de Cardenas, by the grace of God and the holy apoſtolic ſee, biſhop of Paraguay, counſellor to the king in all his councils, &c. Having examined the complaints and petitions of the inhabitants of the noble city of the Aſſumption, of the chapter of our cathedral church, and of the clergy, and religious orders, in regard to the oppreſſion they have ſuffered, and ſtill ſuffer, from the fathers of the company of Jeſus, who govern the reductions of the Parana, the Uruguay, and the Itatines; facts which are known to every one, and to ourſelves in particular moſt evident; knowing, likewiſe, that theſe fathers have uſurped the king's rights; that they have made themſelves maſters of the vaſſals and territories of his majeſty, as if they were themſelves the ſovereigns of them, without acknowledging any dependance upon his ſaid majeſty, or the ordinary; that they eſtabliſh curates, without preſentation or canonical inſtitution." The reſt blank.

The prelate ſet out from Yaguaron the 3d of October, and reckoned to arrive the ſame day at the Aſſumption; but a heavy rain overtook him halfway, and obliged him to ſpend the night there. The very ſame day, the jeſuits aſſiſted at firſt veſpers in the church of the Franciſcans; and numbers of perſons, who had received intelligence of the ſtorm that hung over them, could not help admiring their tranquility. As ſoon as divine ſervice was finiſhed, the lieutenant general, Don Francis Florez, meeting father Nieto, who was come to town betimes, to prepare for the next day's buſineſs, in which he was to be a principal actor, invited him to ſupper. Father Nieto readily complied; and thinking it his duty to make ſome return

turn for the civilities he had received, acquainted Don Francis with what was to be tranſacted the next day; adding, that the firſt thing the biſhop intended to do on his arrival, was to go to the governor's, to know if he would join him; and, if he did not chuſe it, to prevail on him to abſent himſelf. He then exhorted Florez to ſecond ſo glorious an undertaking, which could not poſſibly miſcarry, as the biſhop had four hundred Indians with him, all very well armed; omitting nothing to perſuade him, that, independent of the publick, his own private intereſt ſhould oblige him to comply.

Florez had command enough over himſelf not to let father Nieto ſee what he thought of this matter. But, as ſoon as he was gone, took a turn into the town, and ordered his ſervants to obſerve, if there appeared any extraordinary commotion among the people. He then went to the governor, and communicated to him the intelligence he had received. Don Gregorio, thunderſtruck at the news, inſtantly foreſaw what he ſhould be expoſed to, in caſe the biſhop ſucceeded, or any diſorder ſhould happen in conſequence of his attempt. He, therefore, immediately repaired to the college, to let the jeſuits know what was doing; and was ſurprized to find them ſo eaſy about what might happen. He then repreſented to them, that it was not only lawful for them, but even their duty, to oppoſe the violence with which they were threatened; and then withdrew, without giving them time to anſwer him, in order to ſend arms to their houſe, and engage ſeveral of the principal inhabitants, upon whom he knew he could depend, to ſpend the reſt of the night there.

The day following, the governor, accompanied by a great number of perſons of every rank and condition, ſallied out early to meet the biſhop, whom he

he found ſurrounded by a great number of people; and complimented him on his happy return. Don Bernardin, having caſt his eyes over the great multitude which had followed the governor, aſked him, why he did not ſee the jeſuits among them. The governor then whiſpered him, that he ought not to be ſurprized at it, as theſe fathers had been informed, the night before, that he had no other buſineſs to the Aſſumption, but to drive them out of their college. "I even know, added he, that they are in a condition not to fear any thing; and this is not a proper place, my lord, to tell you what I think of your deſign; I ſhall have the honour of ſpeaking to you more about it, when we meet in private together.

At this the prelate appeared thunderſtruck for ſome moments. And then, turning towards father Nieto, who was likewiſe come out to meet him, "father, ſaid he, ſome devil has diſcovered every thing, and we are betrayed." Upon this, ſome of his confidants adviſed him to march directly to the college, under pretence of making up matters with the jeſuits; and to tell them, that, in order to leave them no cauſe of jealouſy, he intended to take up his reſidence amongſt them. But not reliſhing this advice; he went to alight at the convent of his own order. The governor, on his ſide, thinking the beſt thing he could do to put the biſhop off his guard, was not to appear very averſe to his deſigns, told him, that the ſhorteſt, eaſieſt, and ſureſt courſe he could take with the jeſuits, was to begin by ſtripping them of their reductions; that it was his opinion he ſhould repair there himſelf in perſon; that he ſhould have a good eſcort, in order to enforce obedience to his orders; that he might then return to the Aſſumption, where nothing could hinder him from completing his buſineſs;

ſineſs; whereas, if he attempted to ſet out by driving theſe religious out of their college, they would infallibly call their Neophytes to their aſſiſtance, as they were in a condition to hold out till their arrival. Don Bernardin reliſhed this advice ſo well, that he communicated it to his council, who likewiſe unanimouſly approved it.

THOUGH he now no longer doubted of the governor's being in his intereſt, he forbid his confidants to ſpeak of any thing that had paſſed between them; and no longer thought of any thing, but how he might lull the jeſuits into a fatal ſecurity. For this purpoſe, he told one of thoſe who viſited him, that he would be glad to ſee father Sobrino; and father Sobrino having immediately waited upon him, he received him in the moſt affable manner; and ſaid ſo many obliging things to him, that all preſent concluded he was quite reconciled with him and his brethren. The rector himſelf was the firſt to be deceived by theſe appearances, or at leaſt feigned to be ſo; and, on his return to the college, ſent all manner of refreſhments to the prelate, who in diſtributing them among his houſhold, told them that they might expect to ſee themſelves ſoon at the fountain head, where they would have every thing by only wiſhing for it. He then ordered all the neceſſary preparations to be made for his expedition; and compoſed, himſelf, a memorial to juſtify it.

IN this piece he repeated every thing he had already ſo often ſaid of his motives for undertaking it; of the orders he had received from his majeſty for that purpoſe; of the petitions preſented to him by the ſecular and regular clergy, the inhabitants of the Aſſumption, and a great number of Indians. The reſt was mere declamation, ſtuffed with ill digeſted invectives, all reſembling thoſe, of which his ſer-

ſermons and private diſcourſe, and even all his letters, were generally compoſed. We ſhall, hereafter, give ſome of theſe letters, in which he has painted himſelf ſo much to the life, that no one, who has read them, can be ſurprized at the many miſtakes and diſorders committed by him.

But it is fit I ſhould obſerve, before I proceed any further, that all theſe pretended orders of the king and the ſoverign Pontiff, upon which he laid ſo much ſtreſs, and which we ſhall hereafter ſee him atteſt upon all that is moſt ſacred, if they were not the productions of a warm imagination, which realized every thing that came into his head, they were, at leaſt, no better than the conſequences, which to him appeared evident, of certain general expreſſions uſually employed in the diſpatches addreſſed to the biſhop by the courts of Madrid and Rome. It is, beſides, improbable to the laſt degree, that the three regular communities of the Aſſumption ſhould have ſubſcribed in a body the petitions mentioned by the biſhop. Some private members, indeed, ſurprized or intimidated by him, might have done ſo, without well knowing the tendency of what they ſigned; and it has been proved, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, that Don Bernardin, or at leaſt the miniſters of his paſſions, have often uſed ſubſcriptions of that kind; and even employed the greateſt violence to obtain even them.

While the biſhop was entirely taken up with the thoughts of conquering the reductions of the Parana, captain Pedro Diaz del Vall arrived from la Plata; and ſerved him with a new decree of the royal audience of Charcas, enjoining him to take off the interdict and all the excommunications he had been ſo laviſh of, without requiring any thing for ſo doing. He likewiſe delivered him a private letter from the ſame tribunal, praying and enjoining

ing him to return to the Aſſumption, to govern his church with the great virtues and talents which he was known to poſſeſs; to ſupport, in his diſcourſe, in his writings, in all his proceedings, the dignity of his character, which they heard, wtih great concern, he had forgot on ſeveral occaſions; and to live on better terms with the governor than he had hitherto done. This letter was accompanied with one from the ſame tribunal to the governor, recommending to him not to let the biſhop any longer forget, that he repreſented his majeſty in his province, and was inveſted with his authority.

Don Gregorio, to avoid the danger of a new rupture with Don Bernardin, made no mention of this letter; and even oppoſed the publication of the decree, till he was forced to it by the repreſentations of thoſe, who had not as yet obtained the abſolution of their cenſures, or, to obtain it, had been obliged to give ſecurity for the payment of the fines impoſed upon them. The biſhop, as the governor appehended, attributed to him the mortification he ſuffered on this occaſion. He declared, however, that he would obey the decree. as far as it was conſiſtent with the rights of the catholic church and her biſhops; yet gave private orders to his viſitor to burn all the herb of Paraguay belonging to him, that they could lay their hands on. This letter was afterwards produced before the royal audience of Charcas.

He then addreſſed himſelf to the camp-maſter general; offered to abſolve him from the cenſures he ſaid he had incurred, and forgive the fine annexed to them, if he would but deliver him an ancient ſchedule of Charles V. which it was reported he had taken out of the archives of the Aſſumption, and by virtue of which that capital, in caſe of the governor's death, or his abſenting him-

himſelf, might name one to ſucceed him. He told him, that this ſchedule was never more neceſſary than at preſent, when it ſo much imported the glory of God, the ſervice of his majeſty, and the intereſt of the inhabitants, to put an end to the tyranny of the jeſuits; that, to accompliſh ſo good a work, he wanted nothing but the aſſiſtance of a man like himſelf; that, notwithſtanding, he required nothing more of him than to put himſelf at the head of the people to drive them out; in doing which, beſides, he ſaid, he was more concerned than another perſon.

Don Sebaſtian anſwered by beſeeching Don Bernardin to reflect upon the propoſal he had made; and forgot nothing to convince him of the injuſtice of his deſigns; his want of power to carry them into execution; and the prejudice he did himſelf by his inveteracy to perſecute religious, who had never given him any reaſon for it. To all this the biſhop, at firſt, made no other reply, than by declaring to Don Sebaſtian, that as yet he was not abſolved from the cenſures he had incurred; and by threatening him with the greater excommunication, if he did not deliver up to him the ſchedule in queſtion. Then, ſoftening a little, he undertook to prove, that his deſigns were juſt and lawful before God; that to bring them to bear he did not ſtand in need either of his advice or his aſſiſtance; that, though the whole world were to oppoſe him, he would find means to accompliſh whatever it was his duty to undertake; that, by lopping off rotten members from his church, he acted like an able ſurgeon, who, to ſave a hand, makes no ſcruple to cut off a mortified finger; that the Pope, when he ſhould have heard what he had done, would erect a ſtatue to him, and would even deem him worthy of being canonized, though he had done no other good work during the courſe of his whole

whole life. Don Sebaſtian, and captain Auguſtin de Inſuraldè, have atteſted, that the prelate repeated the ſame things to them in the cloiſter of the Franciſcan convent, in preſence of ſeveral eccleſiaſticks and religious.

So many declarations, at laſt, convinced the governor, that, in a ſhort time, he would no longer be maſter in the province; that it would even be unſafe for him to remain in it, if he loſt any more time to employ all his authority againſt a man, who pretended that people were to acknowledge no other. He, therefore, ſent a private expreſs to the reductions for ſix hundred Indians; and, at the end of ſix days, ſent a ſecond expreſs, to haſten their march. He then waited on the biſhop; told him that every thing was ready for the expedition they had agreed upon; but that he could not give him more than one hundred ſoldiers. The prelate anſwered that he could make ſhift with one hundred and thirty; and that he would have them. Don Gregorio promiſed them, but required fifteen days to furniſh them; reckoning, that, by that time, the Indians he ſent for would be arrived; and he might then act in quality of governor as he was bound to do.

Don Bernardin, on his ſide, did nothing but exaſperate the nobility and the people againſt the jeſuits, whom he likewiſe excommunicated with an inhibition, under the ſame penalty, to all manner of perſons to have any communication with them. Then, after publickly renewing, and in a very indecent proceſſion, his promiſe to give all the Indians of the reductions in command among thoſe with whom he ſhould have moſt reaſon to be pleaſed, he ſet out for Yaguaron, in order to be more at hand to haſten the preparations for his expedition, which he dignified with the name of a holy war; and

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on his arrival there, he communicated to his council the reflections he had made on the propoſals of the governor, whoſe ſincerity he now began to ſuſpect.

He obſerved to them, that the jeſuits, while he was employed on the Parana in reducing their reductions, might fortify themſelves in their college, and put themſelves in a condition to hold out, till they could receive ſuch orders from the royal audience of Charcas, and the viceroy of Peru, as would oblige him to deſiſt; for which reaſon he concluded for abiding by his firſt plan, which was to begin by driving them out of their college; as he would then, he flattered himſelf, find it no hard matter to ſeize on their reductions; that, this once effected, the king, though he ſhould not approve it, would conſent to leave things as they were, rather than run the riſk of loſing a whole province by endeavouring to reeſtabliſh the jeſuits, and procure them the reſtitution of what they had loſt. He added, that he thought it above all things requiſite to make ſure of the governor's perſon, whom he now miſtruſted more than ever; and his opinion was generally approved.

Don Gregorio ſoon began to ſuſpect this alteration in the biſhop's ſentiments, ſo that the delay of the Indians he had ſent for to the reductions, gave him ſo much the more uneaſineſs, as the ſoldiers he had promiſed the biſhop were already at Yaguaron, where the prelate loaded them with careſſes, and fed them with the moſt magnificent promiſes, though he could not but know, that it would be no eaſy matter for him to fulfill them; for he had already divided the ſpoils of the jeſuits; and had declared in his own council, that he reſerved nothing to himſelf but the glory of having laboured to defend the liberty of the church; ſerve his majeſty as became a good ſubject; and reſtore to the

good people of his dioceſe what the jeſuits had robbed them of. He even declared, that it had never been his intention to confer on regulars the pariſhes of the reductions; and if he had flattered them with that favour, it was merely to detach them, and by their means the people, from the jeſuits.

At length, the governor, having received notice that the Indians he expected were arrived within four leagues of the Aſſumption, ſet out to join them with an eſcort of thirty ſoldiers; and, after marching all night at their head, arrived with them by day break at Yaguaron. The biſhop, awakened by the buſtle cauſed among his domeſticks by ſo ſudden an apparition, immediately ſtarted out of bed; but he had ſcarce time to dreſs himſelf, when the governor entered his apartment and told him he was come to conduct him to the Aſſumption, becauſe the Indians of Yaguaron, grown inſolent in conſequence of the protection he afforded them, had refuſed to yield their governor the obedience they owed him. Don Bernardin, without making him any anſwer, ſlipt away by a private door, which opened into the great altar of the church. The governor followed him, ſeized him by the arm, and begged him to hear what he had to ſay. But the prelate broke looſe from him; and, crying out with all his might, declared the governor excommunicated.

At this, a friar, and a mulatto woman who ſerved in the kitchen, ran up to his aſſiſtance, and fell upon the governor, who threw himſelf on his knees on the ſteps of the great altar, while the biſhop, taking the holy ciborium out of the tabernacle, ſhewed it to the people, with whom the church filled in a minute, and who, at the ſight of it, all fell proſtrate to the ground. The biſhop then, being a little come to himſelf, aſked the governor what

what he wanted with him, "to ſerve you, my lord, anſwered Don Gregorio, with a ſentence of baniſhment from this province, and a ſeizure of your temporalities, for having uſurped the juriſdiction which I hold from our ſovereign lord the king. It is by order of the viceroy, which hereby I ſignify to your moſt illuſtrious lordſhip." "I promiſe to obey, anſwered the biſhop, and take this congregation to witneſs my promiſe.

The governor, upon this immediately left the church; and the biſhop prepared to celebrate maſs; but firſt, with his epiſcopal ornaments on, he drew up a kind of depoſition, to which he added the bittereſt invectives againſt the governor. Then, he declared him excommunicated, as well as the camp maſter general, and all the violators of his epiſcopal dignity. When maſs was over, he gave orders for a proceſſion, which he made in the following order. The Indian women appeared firſt, carrying, each, a green branch in her hand; next marched the muſicians, ſinging the *Pange Lingua*; the prelate followed, carrying the bleſſed ſacrament; the reſt of the people cloſed the proceſſion. The proceſſion iſſued from the church to the ringing of bells; and advanced as far as the market place, where the Indians belonging to the reductions were drawn up under arms. The biſhop, happening to caſt his eyes upon ſome of them who had not immediately kneeled down, called out to them that they were barbarians, traitors, ſchiſmaticks, and hereticks. He then returned to the church; placed the bleſſed ſacrament upon the altar; and, turning towards the people, ſpoke for about a quarter of an hour againſt the governor, who, from the door of the church, anſwered him pretty much in the ſame ſtrain, though in a low voice.

Both he and the prelate were in too violent a ſituation not to endeavour to get out of it; and, accordingly, they ſaw each other that very evening. But, by what has ſince happened, there is reaſon to believe, that the biſhop took the firſt ſtep towards a reconciliation, being convinced, that he would always be a gainer by treating alone with the governor.

One thing, at leaſt, is certain; and that is, that he prevailed on the governor to diſmiſs the Parana Indians, and obtained ſix days to prepare for his departure, on condition that he would abſolve the governor from his excommunication. After this interview, the governor went, with no more than ſix men, to ſpend the night in a neighbouring country houſe. The biſhop, on his ſide, not content with ſeeing the Indians take the road to their reductions, cauſed them to be followed, leſt the governor ſhould recall them; and, finding he did not, ſet out the next morning, before day light, for the capital.

He was informed on the road, that the whole city was in an uproar, in conſequence of a report ſpread there, that the governor had embarked him on the river, and was coming, at the head of the reduction Indians, to bring to reaſon all thoſe who had declared againſt him in favour of their biſhop. This intelligence inſpired him with hopes, that he would be well received; and, in fact, the bells had no ſooner proclaimed his arrival, than the whole city reſounded with acclamations of joy. He made his entry preceeded by ſeveral eccleſiaſticks, with arms under their cloaks, ſurrounded by ſeveral friars, and carrying, on his breaſt, a little glaſs box, in which there was a conſecrated hoſt. He had ordered thoſe in the front to turn towards the college; but ſomebody having told him, that he would there meet with four hundred men ready to re-

receive him, which, however, was not true, he thought proper to alight at the convent of St. Francis.

HERE he was immediately viſited by all thoſe who were attached to him; and he applied to them for arms. He likewiſe cauſed to be brought to him the arms belonging to all thoſe who depended on him. He then ordered murdering holes to be made in ſeveral places; and the weak places to be fortified with gabions. This done, he ſent to the cathedral for an image of the virgin; and to the church of St. Blaize, for that ſaint's; and cauſed both to be placed on the great altar, under canopies. Next, he ſent for all his domeſticks, not forgetting the mulatto cook who had ſerved him ſo well at Yaguaron. Thus cantoned in the convent, as in a fortified place, he gave all thoſe who ſhut themſelves up with him, an account of every thing that had happened to him ſince his departure from the Aſſumption. He told them, that he had found means to engage the governor to diſmiſs the Parana Indians; "but it is a great pity, added he, that ſuch a man ſhould hold ſuch a poſt. Let me but have the royal ſchedule, which has been ſtolen out of the town houſe, and I will uſe him as he deſerves, as well as Sebaſtian de Leon." This ſchedule, however, contained no more than a power, which the emperor had given during the firſt years after the building of the Aſſumption, to name, proviſionally, a commandant on the death of the governor; and this privilege ſubſiſted no longer.

THE camp-maſter general, hearing of this diſcourſe, immediately waited on the governor to repreſent to him all the evils and inconveniencies, to which he would expoſe himſelf, by not immediately ordering back the Parana Indians. But the prelate, who had his ſpies every where, ſoon hearing what

this officer was about, cauſed the alarm bell of the convent to ring. Upon this, the inhabitants immediately flocked to the convent, where the biſhop, having ſent for an alcalde and ſome regidors, took out of his pocket, and read with a loud voice, a paper, which, he ſaid, was a letter he had juſt received, importing, that the reduction Indians had plundered Yaguaron, and all the country houſes in the neighbourhood; that they were in march to ſerve the capital in the ſame manner; and that they had been already ſeen at Ita: "And becauſe, added he, I would defend your liberty, your property, and your privileges, they want to drive me out of the province, as a ſower of ſedition. But, in quality of a counſellor to his majeſty, I exhort all thoſe in employment, to take upon them the defence of this oppreſſed city, and name a governor, who may preſerve the province from the danger with which it is threatened. In ſo urgent a caſe, neceſſity may very well ſupply the want of a royal ſchedule."

The alcalde, aſtoniſhed at this diſcourſe, ran directly to the governor, to conjure him not to let the Indians enter the city; and, on Don Gregorio's anſwering him, that he knew what was to be done, fell into a violent paſſion; and even forgot himſelf ſo far as to ſpeak very diſreſpectfully to the governor, who, thereupon, ſent him to priſon. As ſoon as the people heard of it, they grew perfectly outrageous; and would, perhaps, have been guilty of ſome violence, had they not been reſtrained by their apprehenſions of the Indians, whoſe number was made to amount to twelve hundred. They were, however, ſoon quieted by the receipt of certain advice, that theſe Indians had never appeared either at Yaguaron or at Ita; and that their number never amounted to above ſix hundred.

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Soon after, indeed, they were given to underſtand, what was very true, that theſe Indians were, in fact, marching towards the city by the governor's orders; but that they obſerved the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and no where occaſioned the leaſt diſorder.

Don Bernardin, however, had ſent to the royal audience a relation of their pretended hoſtilities, which, beſides being atteſted by himſelf upon oath, was ſigned by two friars, as eye-witneſſes to the plundering of Yaguaron, where it was afterwards proved neither of them had been. The prelate affirmed in another memorial, that, during his reſidence in that town, and while he was preparing to viſit the reductions, the jeſuits had ſent the governor of Paraguay thirty thouſand gold crowns, and a thouſand well armed men, to engage him to baniſh him, for fear he ſhould diſcover their gold mines; and this memorial was ſigned by ſeveral eccleſiaſticks, ſome of whom were not ſo much as permitted to read it. One clergyman, who, alone, had the courage not to comply, was loaded with chains, and brought to the convent of St. Francis, where, after a great deal of ill uſage, he was ſuſpended in the air by a rope, till, overcome by the painfulneſs of his ſituation, he promiſed to do every thing they thought proper. Accordingly, on being untied, he ſigned the memorial; but, as ſoon as he recovered his liberty, he proteſted againſt the violence that had been offered him.

In the mean time, the creatures of the biſhop left no ſtone unturned to engage the inhabitants to take up arms. The prelate, on his ſide, beſtirred himſelf exceedingly, to procure the ſchedule of Charles V, and the royal ſtandard; and, finding, at laſt, that he could not get either one or the other, vented his anger and indignation on the camp-maſter general, his brothers and his friends, whom he de-

clared excommunicated, ſchiſmaticks, and enemies to their country. At laſt, the tumult encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that ſeveral of the principal inhabitants, finding it impoſſible to remain any longer in the city with decency or ſafety, retired to the country. Upon this, the governor, who flattered himſelf, that Don Bernardin, when he ſhould loſe all hopes of holding out in his aſylum, would comply with his promiſe to leave the province, ſent to ſummon him to ſet out without any further delay; and to let him know, at the ſame time, that there was a bark well ſtored with proviſions of every kind, ready to receive him and all his family.

The king's notary, Ruy Gomez de Goyoſo, who was charged with the ſerving of this ſummons, on his preſenting himſelf at the gates of the convent, and deſiring to ſpeak with the prelate, was accoſted by a friar armed with a javelin, with which he three times endeavoured to run him through the body. Don Bernardin made up to the noiſe; aſked Gomez his buſineſs; and when, he had given an account of it, told him that no one had a right to command him to leave his dioceſe; and that, at any rate, the governor ſhould have come himſelf on the errand. He then broke out into invectives againſt him, and declared the king's notary excommunicated, threatening him, at the ſame time, in caſe he did not conſider himſelf as ſuch, to fine him five hundred crowns, and deliver him over to the holy office as an obſtinate and irreclaimable ſinner. Don Gregorio, having received notice of this exceſs; and being told, beſides, that, Don Bernardin having declared it would be but a venial ſin to diſpatch him, two eccleſiaſticks had taken upon them to do the buſineſs, and two more to ſet fire to the college, he immediately ordered one hundred of the Parana Indians into the city; poſted fifty at the gates of the college; and the reſt about his own houſe.

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Don Gregorio then publiſhed an edict, declaring Don Bernardin de Cardenas an intruder into the biſhoprick of Paraguay, and without any manner of juriſdiction. The governor had by him three pieces left him by the fathers Truxillo and Verdugo, and his brother, father de Hiniſtroſa, to prove that the biſhop was actually, and ever ſince his conſecration, had been ſuſpended, and the governor knew very well, that the fathers of St. Dominick, and of the Merci, and ſeveral franciſcans were of the ſame opinion with his brother. The piece by father de Hiniſtroſa, the biſhop has always attributed to the jeſuits; and it is upon this foundation, that in all his letters, and in all the memorials publiſhed in his name, and preſented by his agent to the royal council of the Indies, he accuſed the jeſuits of having driven him out of his dioceſe, as they had already done, he ſaid, two of his predeceſſors; a calumny, which has been repeated in ſeveral libels, eſpecially in the *Morale Pratique des Jeſuites*, but always without the leaſt foundation. The two other prelates are Don Thomas de Torrez, of the order of St. Dominick, who was tranſlated from the biſhoprick of the Aſſumption to that of Tucuman; and Don Chriſtopher de Arreſti, of the order of St. Benedict, tranſlated to that of Buenos Ayres. The firſt never had any quarrel with the jeſuits, and the ſecond lived to his death in the greateſt harmony with them. Beſides, what could the jeſuits have got by theſe tranſlations, ſince moſt of their houſes, as well as the beſt of them, were in the dioceſes of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman?

Unhappily for Don Bernardin, the opinions of the three religious I have juſt mentioned, have been ſince confirmed by the ſentence of the cardinals of the congregation of Trent. But, to proceed according to the order preſcribed by the canons

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in an affair of this importance, it was requiſite there ſhould be an eccleſiaſtical ſuperior. None of the ancient canons now remained in the city but Don Chriſtopher Sanchez, who, at the arrival of Don Bernardin de Cardenas, governed the dioceſe in quality of grand vicar and proviſor. The governor, therefore, required him to reſume the exerciſe of his charge, which the flaws in the prelate's conſecration and induction authorized him to continue; and promiſed to ſupport him with all the authority he himſelf was inveſted with in quality of governor. Don Sanchez conſented, provided the governor would give him a ſafeguard for his perſon. To this Don Gregorio made anſwer, that he might find one in the jeſuits college, which was well guarded; and, accordingly, directly conducted him to it.

He then ordered the general alarm to be beat; and iſſued an order, on pain of death, for all the inhabitants to repair with their arms to the great ſquare, where the royal ſtandard had been already planted, and hold themſelves in readineſs to do every thing they ſhould be commanded in the name of his majeſty. No one dared to be abſent, ſo that the officers with their ſoldiers, the magiſtrates at the head of the militia, and one hundred and fifty Indians, immediately appeared there in order of battle. The governor then made his appearance; and, followed only by ſome of his principal officers went to the college; called for Don Chriſtopher Sanchez, proviſor and vicar general of the dioceſe; and conducted him to the cathedral, the doors of which were no ſooner thrown open, than it filled with perſons of both ſexes, and of every age and condition.

Don Chriſtopher, after a ſhort prayer, took a crucifix from the great altar; gave it to kiſs to the go-

governor; and then took the ſeat he uſed to occupy during the vacancy of the ſee, from which he declared that he reſumed the exerciſe of all the charges, with which he had been till then inveſted, the new biſhop of Paraguay not as yet having any lawful juriſdiction. This done, he ordered all the bells to be ſet a ringing, and all the excommunication liſts to be torn down; and took off the interdict which Don Bernardin himſelf had juſt taken off, as, finding it impoſſible to eſcape this blow, he thought he might make a merit of his pretended indulgence in the eyes of the publick.

The governor's edict further imported, that as it was notorious his lordſhip Don Bernardin de Cardenas had intruded himſelf into the government of the dioceſe, againſt the rules of the church, and was actually lodged in the franciſcan convent, to which he had cauſed arms to be brought, and where he had placed a garriſon; and from thence filled the city with trouble, confuſion and ſcandal, he forbid all perſons, on pain of death, to enter that convent while the prelate continued in it. The proviſor and vicar general, on his ſide, publiſhed a mandate to the ſame purpoſe, importing, beſides, that the ſaid lord biſhop was not entitled to any obedience.

Now, at laſt, Don Bernardin perceived, that he could not hold out any longer, eſpecially as a mandate of his, lately publiſhed in one of his pariſh churches, had made little or no impreſſion on the inhabitants. He, therefore ſent word to the governor, that he could no longer prevail upon himſelf to remain in a province entirely inhabited by excommunicated perſons; and accordingly, on the 19th of November, after celebrating his two maſſes, he took leave of a great number of devout perſons, whoſe conſciences he directed, telling them, that he was ba-

baniſhed from his dioceſe, for having endeavoured, through his paſtoral tenderneſs for his flock, to relieve the diſtreſs of ſeveral families, whoſe patrimony had been uſurped by the enemies of the church; thereby meaning the Indians, whom the jeſuits ſecured from the drudgery of perſonal ſervice. He repeated all the injuries, with which he, on every former occaſion, had loaded theſe pretended uſurpers; he again interdicted, excommunicated, and anathematized them; giving, at the ſame time, notice, that there was no communicating with them without incurring the ſame cenſures; and adding, that, ſevere as he ſhewed himſelf towards thoſe, who obſtinately perſiſted in their rebellion againſt the church, he would always behave with the greateſt compaſſion and tenderneſs towards her humble an faithful children.

He then named the churches, in which the inhabitants might enjoy the happineſs of aſſiſting at divine ſervice; and the prieſts who might hear their confeſſions, on whom he beſtowed the moſt magnificent encomiums, though, perhaps, he was the only perſon not to know, that ſome of them lived in a ſcandalous concubinage. At length, after taking leave of the great croud that attended him, all bathed in tears, and filling the church with their ſighs and groans, he ſallied forth, carrying the holy ſacrament in a box hung to his breaſt, and followed by his chaplains and the reſt of his clergy, every one with a lighted taper in his hand. As ſoon as he had got into his bark, he renewed his anathemas againſt the perſecutors of the church, who drove out of his dioceſe the holieſt biſhop, to believe his followers, the new world had ever poſſeſſed; and thundered a new interdict againſt the city, to the ſound of a little bell, which he uſually carried with him in his journeys. The bells of the franciſcan

ciſcan church, and thoſe of the epiſcopal pariſh, were immediately ſet a going, according to the orders he had given for that purpoſe; and it was found impoſſible to appeaſe the tumults occaſioned by the ringing of them, otherwiſe than by ringing, at the ſame time, thoſe of all the other churches.

The prelate ſeated himſelf on a ſtool in the ſtern of his bark, having, on both ſides of him, the eccleſiaſticks and religious, who had embarked with him. The reſt of his attendants had placed themſelves at ſome diſtance; ſome ſmoaking, the reſt drinking their Paraguay; and all in very careleſs poſtures, without ſhewing the leaſt attention to the bleſſed ſacrament, which the biſhop carried about him; and, he himſelf, no doubt, ſoon took notice of it, for in ſome ſhort time, the box containing it, was no longer to be ſeen. One of his clergy has ſince aſſured, that he ſaw Don Bernardin communicate with it without leaving his place, from a perſuaſion, it is probable, that he might on this occaſion diſpenſe with a law of the church, leſt he ſhould not be able to keep his attendants within the bounds of reſpect due to the holy ſacrament of our altars.

Be that as it will, his friends wrote to Tucuman, that, the moment he aſcended his bark, ſtars had been ſeen to dart from heaven towards the church of St. Lucia, and from thence to the epiſcopal palace, behind which they diſappeared; that the earth ſhook; that rocks had been ſeen to fly to pieces, and mountains to ſtrike againſt each other; that the ſun ſeemed to diſtil blood; in ſhort, that amazement and terror had ſeized every heart. But when theſe accounts were ſent back to the Aſſumption, it was anſwered, that nothing like it had been ſeen there; that few perſons regretted

gretted the biſhop, ſince he carried away with him the ſource of all that trouble and confuſion, with which the city had been almoſt perpetually agitated ever ſince he made his appearance in it.

Don Bernardin, however, now began to be more uneaſy than he cared to appear, in regard to the defects in his conſecration and induction; and it is certain, that he had been, for ſome time paſt, taking meaſures in Rome, to procure the Pope's diſpenſation with both. From the 9th of May, 1645, to the 2d of October, of the ſame year, four congregations were held upon this affair, and in them were produced letters from the biſhop, in which he deſired to be abſolved from the cenſures he might have incurred for cauſing himſelf to be conſecrated without preſenting the Pope's bulls; for having taken poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick; for having received the revenues of it; for having ordained and performed the other epiſcopal functions; all, in conſequence of the opinion of ſeveral learned men, who judged that his bulls had probably miſcarried, or had been intercepted by perſons who wiſhed him no good; and on the ſtrength of a letter from cardinal Anthony Barbarini, who gave him notice of their having been expedited, and treated him as biſhop. To theſe motives he added, the preſſing neceſſity which the dioceſe of the Aſſumption had for a biſhop.

The Pope aſſiſted at one of theſe congregations, in which it was ordered, that Don Bernardin's letters ſhould be examined in a new congregation, in the preſence of his holineſs, and that the whole affair ſhould be again maturely conſidered. The 11th of July, 1656, another congregation was held, in which Cardinal Ceſi preſented a petition addreſſed to the Pope, by which the canons of the Aſſumption, independent of the defects in the con-

conſecration of Don Bernardin, alledged ſeveral other grievances againſt him. The congregation named Cardinal Albizzi to examine and report them; and, as Don Bernardin had cited Cardinal Barbarini's letter, it was anſwered, that he ought to produce it. It appears that things remained pretty much in this ſituation till the year 1658, when Don Bernardin was abſolved of his cenſures, and named to another biſhoprick. In the mean time, we ſhall ſoon ſee him appear again at the Aſſumption, with as much confidence, as if the Pope had either declared he had never incurred any cenſures, or had abſolved him from them.

End of the Firſt Volume.

4 AP 63